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Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 359
EDITORIALS:
Your Electricity Bill 361
Our Trustworthy Newspapers 362
Coal 363
Rejecting Peace 363
Spring in the Cosmos 364
IT SEEMS TO HEYWOOD BROUN. By Heywood Broun 365
COVERING WASHINGTON. By The Unofficial Spokesman 366
THE PLIGHT OF SOFT COAL. By Walton H. Hamilton 367
THE COAL WAR. By Colston E. Warne 369
MR. WARDEN TESTIFIES. By Lowell M. Limpus and Martin Codel 371
FACING THE FAMINE LINE. By Ann Washington Craton 373
THE McCOY ELECTION LAW. By Carleton Beals 374
THE DEMOCRATS AND THE TARIFF IN 1928. By J. N. Aiken 376
THE GOVERNMENT MUST ACT! By Fiorello H. La Guardia 378
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 379
CORRESPONDENCE 380
BOOKS, MUSIC, PLAYS:
Mediocrities. By Harry Kemp 382
First Glance. By Mark Van Doren 382
An Important Journal. By William MacDonald 382
Not Robespierre. By Louis R. Gottschalk 383
Negro Anatomy. By T. Wingate Todd 383
Of Sovereignty. By Max Radin 384
Not in Our Stars. By Alice Beal Parsons 384
Books in Brief 386
Music: "Œdipus Rex." By Henrietta Straus 387
Drama: Mr. Shakespeare's Latest. By Joseph Wood Krutch 388
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
Albania. By B. Blinishti 390

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NEITHER SENATOR NYE NOR AL SMITH seems to us to emerge well from their controversy over Governor Smith's connection with Harry Sinclair, whom he appointed in 1920 to the New York State Racing Commission. When Senator Nye has had more years in public life he will learn that the most effective replies in a debate of this kind are brief, dignified, and restrained—especially brief. On the other hand Governor Smith must have broken away from his usual advisers; they would surely never have permitted him to send such an outrageously abusive letter to Senator Nye. It does not augur well for the self-control of the Governor that he allows himself to write to as honest and deserving a public servant as Mr. Nye that he does not propose that he and "Senator Robinson shall escape public humiliation for the infamous insinuations," "false public statements," etc. Nor was it necessary for him to say that the inquiry directed to him "is a Republican counsel of desperation," a "demagogic slander." Senator Nye was quite justified in replying that this tone and attitude of Governor Smith aided and comforted the "oil scoundrels" and, he might have added, their apologists in the press. The whole thing was not worthy of the space and attention given to it, but Governor Smith's extraordinary passion and intemperance in replying will remain to plague him throughout the campaign.

PROTECT US FROM THE POLICE! We are beginning in dead earnest to reap the harvest we have sown in allowing them to violate the laws and to take the law into their own hands whenever they choose. So we have the chief of police of the city of Miami and no less than five of his subordinates in prison awaiting trial for first-degree murder of two Negroes. A sixth subordinate, a detective, is in jail on a second-degree murder charge for killing a white carpenter. The Negro whose death two and a half years ago has now put the chief of police in jail was killed during the process of administering the "third degree," after he had been accused of "accosting a woman guest at a hotel where he was employed." The grand jury specifically charged "terrifying and damnable practices" in this and other cases and promises proof of "further startling irregularities." If the former chief of police of Canton, Ohio, has been released from prison in connection with the killing of Don R. Mellett, the Canton editor, some of his subordinates are in jail for life. In Brooklyn two patrolmen have just been convicted of crime and another from the Bronx has been arrested for attacking the chief of police of Nyack, New York. Hardly a day goes by without some such police lawlessness. Yet the Bar Association of the City of New York has not sufficient courage or respect for the law to stop the hourly abuse and maltreatment of prisoners in the New York police stations. But on the ground that it is a quasi-public body, it has recently had its building exempted from taxation.

IT WAS PRESIDENT ATWOOD of Clark University who, with his own presidential hand, turned out the lights on an audience listening to Scott Nearing lecturing six years ago. More recently he has been snooping on student editors. He induced the press which printed the *Clark Monthly* to send him, secretly, proofs of all articles before they were published. For the January issue one of the editors submitted a lively playlet entitled Bull Session. But before his play appeared he wrote to the editor asking that it be withdrawn. "It's too strong," he wrote, "and careless." Two days later President Atwood called the editor-in-chief and the author to his office, and suspended them. The fact that they had already dropped the article made no difference to him. He also demanded that two associate editors who, without reading the article, had carried it a quarter of a mile from one editor to another, resign. They declared that to resign would be to admit guilt, and they did not feel guilty. The president then informed the public that they had "voluntarily withdrawn from college"—a sheer falsehood. When the student body unanimously requested the president to reinstate the editors as students, President Atwood called the resolutions "absurd and impudent." When a student committee called on him, he greeted them with the words: "There's the door. Get out!" A new board of editors of the *Clark Monthly* has now given to the public an honest statement of this shocking story; two of the

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editors, both honor men, one being president of the Student Body, have resigned from college, declaring that to be "the only act compatible with self-respect." We honor these men, Jacob Freedburg and George Grondahl, and Seymour Revzin, who resigned with them; and we hope that there is enough love for the university's good name among Clark alumni to get rid of the mean, deceitful little man who as its president has snooped and lied and shamed their alma mater.

STEPHEN G. PORTER has introduced a bill into Congress, asking, in connection with the new federal penitentiaries shortly to be built, for the establishment of two narcotic farms. At the present moment some two thousand federal prisoners are drug-addicts. According to Mr. Porter's plan these prisoners would be segregated and given special care, for they are not only a misery to themselves, but a direct menace to others; one of the peculiarities of the disease is that the drug-taker tries to make converts and initiate others into his habit. The narcotic farms provided for in Mr. Porter's bill would give these patients intensive and humane treatment, under scientific direction. Such a measure is, of course, a poor substitute for prevention. But prevention will be impossible until we can stop the incessant flow of smuggled drugs into the United States. Unfortunately it would take an army of men standing shoulder to shoulder along our vast frontiers to keep out this flood, and the conditions which cause it are beyond our control.

THE DRUGS CONSUMED in the United States come from about forty drug factories in this country, Great Britain, France, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Japan, and India. Except for those in India, all are owned by private individuals or corporations. The United States has rationed its factories, and our manufacture of drugs has been limited as closely as possible to the amounts needed for our own medicinal purposes. But this limitation of manufacture has not been adopted by other countries. In most of them the sky is the limit. Yet these countries, like the United States, are signatories to the Hague Opium Convention of 1912, and Article 9 of that convention binds every nation to limit drug manufacture to medicinal needs. In the last analysis, of course, the overproduction of the raw material is the root cause of the whole situation. But in regard to both factors, overproduction and overmanufacture, the United States is the victim of a situation which can only be altered by international cooperation.

THE FINAL AMENDMENT of the Jones Flood Control Bill by the Senate Commerce Committee eliminates the only section which would have required the States or levee districts to pay a part of the cost. The flood-stricken States, in view of the $292,000,000 already paid by them for flood protection, are now required to furnish only the additional rights of way necessary for further levee construction. Although this reduces considerably the more generous appropriation of $473,000,000 in the House bill—all of which was also to have been paid by the federal government—it is reported that it still does not come near enough to the original Jadwin plan to enjoy the support of President Coolidge. Under the Jadwin plan the flood-control expenditure would have been $297,000,000, but the States affected would have been called upon to contribute 20 per cent—approximately $60,000,000. Thus, most significant in the present Senate bill is its recognition of the fact that the inundated areas, some of which have had to refund taxes, should not be overburdened by flood-control costs. It should afford ground for an intelligent compromise between the two earlier plans.

BY AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY of the thousand delegates present the United Farmers of Alberta recently passed a resolution demanding that Canada resume the trade relations with Russia which the Dominion Cabinet, docilely following the lead of England, severed last spring. The vote is, in effect, that of the unofficial parliament practically ruling the Western province. It was not reached, of course, without acrimonious discussion, soft words about the ties with the motherland, and the honor of dead heroes' blood in the red of the Union Jack. One delegate, with passionate loyalty, said:

> If my mother asked me to do something to save her honor, I should do it without questioning. Great Britain has asked. It is not for us to reason why.

Unfortunately, since the severance of trade relations, the Russian market, which consumed $165,000 worth of Alberta's agricultural exports last year, has been completely cut off. In the face of hard economic facts of this kind, the bonds of empire loyalty are strained. Another issue was suggested: Eighteen months ago, at an Empire conference in London, Canada and the other British Dominions were given the status of "nations." The farmers would now like to know how much substance, if any, there is behind the words "national status."

BORAH, BERTRAND RUSSELL, AND TROTZKY were invited to become honorary members of the Pan-Asiatic Conference at its second meeting held in Shanghai late last year. On subjects other than this invitation the delegates were far from unanimous. Despite the Japanese inspiration of the movement, the Chinese delegates insisted upon presenting a resolution inviting Japan to get out of Manchuria. The Indian delegate seconded the motion, and it was voted by the entire conference, with only the somewhat bewildered Japanese in opposition. Delegates more or less representative of Japan, China, India, Ceylon, Formosa, Afghanistan, Turkey, Turkestan, and Arabia were present, and no Europeans, not even newspaper correspondents, were permitted to attend its sessions. Such congresses are symptomatic, but as yet they cannot be taken very seriously. The militarists who rule China's provinces, the oligarchy which governs Japan, and the semi-modern dictators of Western Asia are as afraid of democratic nationalism as the European Powers which maintain colonies in Asia. Japan, which alone could be the effective leader of a pulsing Pan-Asiaticism, cannot do so unless she makes up her mind to abandon her attempt to imitate Western colonialism in Manchuria and Korea.

IN THE ROLLING HILLS of Marin County, California, which he so loved, William Kent died on March 13, and the bursting of a California dam crowded his name off the front pages. He was another kind of California dam that never burst. For six years in Congress as a fighting Progressive he was stalwart in a hundred movements to save their birthright for the American people. Those were the days when Roosevelt called himself a Progressive, and Kent fought with him. President Wilson appointed him

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to the United States Tariff Commission, where he was a dam again. He had begun his war against corruption back in 1889 when, two years out of Yale, he began to attack the corrupt gang that then ruled Chicago. But although his name lives in Chicago, where the Municipal Voters League and the Civil Service Reform League grew strong under his leadership, he belonged essentially to California. He went there as a boy of seven, and grew up there; he returned as a man of fifty, served in Congress from California, and died there. His most enduring monument, perhaps, is the grove of mighty redwoods close to San Francisco Bay which he saved from destruction. Kent bought the old giants, and gave them to the nation as a park. President Roosevelt asked his permission to call them "Kent's Woods," but in a letter typical of the man Kent replied:

> I suggest that as a tribute to our great naturalist, John Muir, the park be named "Muir Woods." I am not unappreciative of your kindness in desiring it to bear my own name, and I thank you. However, I have five stalwart sons, and if they are not able to keep the name of Kent alive, I am willing that it be forgotten.

Your Electricity Bill

DO householders pay the power bills of the factories? The old complaint against the generating companies was that as a whole prices were too much in excess of the cost of production. In a pamphlet entitled "What Price Electricity for Our Homes?" Morris Llewellyn Cooke of Philadelphia argues that the great immediate injustice is in the inequality between rates for electricity in the home as against those for power supplied for industrial uses. He thinks that we are on the edge of a great extension in the domestic use of electricity which can be hastened, both to the benefit of the consumer and the generating companies, by a redistribution of rates as affecting the home and the factory. Mr. Cooke says:

> The outstanding feature of the domestic electric-rate situation is the fact that for a quarter of a century there has been almost no effort at basic readjustment in the method by which rates are determined. *Domestic rates for electricity have been and still are from five to ten times as great as wholesale power rates.* Yet the conditions which twenty-five years ago justified the granting of exceptionally low rates to industrial users have completely changed. There is now no longer the need to attract the large industrial power consumers during periods of off-peak, as was the case at the inception of the industry. . . . In the face of these significant changes, not only has there been very little done in the way of removing or cutting down the large differentials originally established between industrial and domestic consumers, but these differentials in many places have actually been increased. Statistics show that whereas in 1923 lighting consumers paid on the average 4.8 times as much as power consumers, by 1926 this differential had been increased to 5.7 times as much.

Mr. Cooke's estimates are supported by O. M. Rau, electrical engineer for the Giant Power Board appointed by Governor Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania. In compiling figures for 98 per cent of the electric current used in Pennsylvania in 1924, Mr. Rau found that the average rate paid by the wholesale power consumers was 1.35 cents per kilowatt hour while the average rate paid by domestic consumers was 8.4 cents, or 6.2 times as much. Mr. Cooke adds:

> It is recognized on all sides that in the early days lighting rates were fixed with a view to covering, not only all costs of generating and distributing all current used for lighting, but also the entire overhead expense of plants which were also serving power consumers. No one pretended that the higher rates charged lighting consumers were in any way a measure of the greater cost of distributing current to them. Since those early days the cost of producing electricity has so declined . . . that the rates paid by power users are generally sufficient to meet their share of all overhead expenses. But the *relative* charges for power and domestic service have remained largely as before.

The *Electrical World* of January 1, 1927, presented figures on this point, showing that between 1923 and 1926 the average price of electric current to power consumers declined from 1.47 to 1.39 cent per kilowatt hour, or more than 12 per cent, while the charge to lighting consumers actually increased from 7.1 cents to 7.37 cents. In its issue of February 5 of last year the same publication said: "Of the 68,732,000,000 kilowatt hours generated in 1926 only 21 per cent was used for light—yet that 21 per cent returned $1,072,000,000, or 64 per cent of the total central-station revenue." In other words, the ordinary citizen's lighting bill pays for power for the factories.

Formerly electricity was used predominantly for lighting, and facilities had to be installed to meet the demand at the peak hours, which were only a fraction of the twenty-four. It was often true that had the demand been steady rather than irregular, twenty times as much electricity could have been supplied with the same equipment. A customer who would use current in the off hours might rightly receive it at great concessions. But the industrial uses of electricity have expanded vastly, and in addition equalization has been obtained through the linking of systems and long-distance transmission. As Mr. Cooke puts it:

> The generating stations may now be serving more largely a lighting need, now a transportation need, now a steel-mill need, now a clothing-factory need. At one moment the demand may be heavy in New York City, at another in anthracite coal mines, at another in rural silk mills. But, with the wide interconnection between companies, the load on any one generator as well as the load on all combined can be made—and in some areas has actually become—surprisingly even.

Approximately 400 mergers occurred in 1925, and approximately 1,050 mergers in 1926, the various companies which changed hands at one time counted separately.

What should be the proportion between rates for home consumption and those for industrial uses? The figures of the companies are kept in such a way as to obscure this point, but Mr. Rau, as a result of his studies in Pennsylvania, came to the conclusion that the difference of rate between small and large consumers should be three to one as contrasted with the actual proportion of six to one. In practice the Province of Ontario has proved on a large scale and over many years that it is possible to serve domestic consumers at rates much lower than those prevailing in the United States. The government-owned hydro-electric system supplied the homes of Toronto in 1926 with current at an average rate of 1.7 cent per kilowatt hour, representing a reduction from 4.5 in 1914.

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Our Trustworthy Newspapers

"AN able and needed investigation." "Senator Walsh is a merciless investigator. But he fights openly and honorably. The country, as a whole, regardless of party lines, is just as eager as he is to uncover the mysterious ramifications of the Continental oil-company enterprise." "It is to be hoped that the Senate Committee will push its inquiry to the end without tenderness to persons." These sentences we found recently in an editorial in the New York *Herald Tribune* and we confess that we could not trust our eyes when we first saw them. For this is the same paper that during inquiries in 1924 had no language too violent with which to denounce the same Senator Walsh and his associates in digging out what is now admitted to be the worst corruption in high office in the history of the republic. "The Montana scandal-mongers," the *Tribune*, as it then was, called Senators Walsh and Wheeler on March 30, 1924. On January 30, 1924, the investigation was in its eyes "a Democratic lynching bee" which was, "in plain words, contemptible and disgusting." On February 21 it denounced Senator Wheeler for his attack upon Attorney General Daugherty, saying:

> He turned his back on the rules of fair play and decent conduct that control private citizens and, ordinarily, Senators of the United States. . . . Senator Wheeler would place Senatorial cowardice on a par with Senatorial courtesy. . . . The country is in for a period of wild accusations, rumor-mongering, and loud-mouthing by little minds.

It finally agreed with Senator Wheeler that Daugherty should resign, "not because of the slanderous attacks of Democrats, but in spite of them." Again, it said of Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Walsh that "these precious legislators will doubtless continue to violate every rule of decency and fair play, for such is their nature." And it finally spoke of "the preposterous hearsay of incredible witnesses."

The New York *Times* was not far behind its Republican contemporary. When Senator Caraway attacked both Albert Fall and Edward B. McLean, the *Times* declared that "judicious Democrats" everywhere "must grieve over this Bombastes Furioso, for this is but another act of 'Trying to Bamboozle the People.'" When Secretary Denby was forced out by the oil investigators the *Times* came to his defense, and declared that "not even his enemies charge him with a sordid use of his office or of malfeasance in it." And it held to this viewpoint until the United States Supreme Court found that Denby had been guilty of most blameworthy lack of fidelity in office. Similarly the *Times* came to the aid of Harry Daugherty, declaring that there was "something unspeakably mean" about the desire to sacrifice him merely to save the party; that he was a sacrifice to Senators abler than he but "much meaner." Again on March 19, 1924, it denounced the Senatorial "inquisitors" for introducing to the public "a fine collection of crooks asserting that other men are crooked." On March 31 the *Times* had this to say:

> A few Senators at Washington have borne themselves like men who are at heart enemies of lawful and orderly government. They profess to be engaged in the laudable effort to uncover corruption. . . . But . . . they make it seem that their real purpose is to paralyze the Administration, to terrorize members of the Cabinet, to break down the efficiency of the Government. . . . The inquisitorial power of Congress, which should be reserved for great events, has been placed at the disposal of men who display no sense of responsibility, and who make use of it for the pettiest and most malicious purposes. What should be the strong medicine of the Constitution, . . . has been made the daily bread of scandal-mongers and assassins of character.

When the investigators first got on the track of Mr. Mellon, the *Times*, on April 12, 1924, again declared that "It is one more step in a movement which will have the effect, if not the design, of throwing the government into disorder and demoralizing those charged with the duty of conducting the public business." The New York *Evening Post*, too, was constantly firing away at Walsh and Wheeler, calling them the "mud-gunners," and declaring that

> There will come a day when Washington will recover its now lost sanity. . . . For weeks its mud-guns have belched and splashed. What once was a great deliberative body has been resounding to the partisan yelpings of little men and the snaps and snarls of character assassins. . . . The public has been shocked and finally disgusted by this brazen exhibition of poison-tongued partisanship, pure malice, and twittering hysteria.

It is needless to add that the example of these metropolitan papers was followed by dailies in other cities. So far from upholding the hands of the investigators, they broke the force of the evidence presented by their attacks upon the investigators and upon the motives that led to the inquiry. We do not know of a more unworthy chapter in the history of our journalism. We do not think that it was a deliberate conspiracy. We incline to the belief that it was pure stupidity, editorial laziness combined with an unwillingness to attack the honor of "respectable," wealthy, prominent persons in high office.

Suddenly, this year, the newspapers discovered that Senator Walsh and Senator Nye were doing a good job. What caused the change? In the first place, there is this year no possibility of a third, and an honest, party in the field. In the second place, in the years that have elapsed, the men like Senators Wheeler, Walsh, Norris, Nye, La Follette, and Borah, who place public decency and honor above party considerations and the safety of rascals in public office, have steadily pounded away and bit by bit brought out more and more truth. There is, of course, nothing that has been revealed in this fresh investigation that is else than confirmatory of what was discovered before. Our editorial protectors of wrongdoers cannot allege this in their defense. The simple fact is that the mountain of evidence has grown so great that it cannot be whistled away. So these editors have had to face the truth and turn a complete somersault with the best grace possible.

Yet there are still limits to their virtue. When the sacred name of Saint Andrew of Pittsburgh is mentioned these newspapers again train their batteries of abuse upon the investigators. The *Tribune* and the *Times* are talking their old language. Will it take four more years to teach them the lesson?

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Coal

THE NATION presents this week several portraits of a sick industry. Coal has not been carried along on the triumphant wave of American business progress; an undertow seems even to have swept it backward. The men who dig coal are worse off today than they were twenty years ago; and many of the operators themselves are not making profits. The public, content with the cheapness of the product, has turned to its radio, and has "tuned out" whenever a serious-minded discourse on coal came floating over the ether.

Yet there are signs of an awakening. When a hard-shelled Administration Senator like Mr. Gooding of Idaho comes back from the Pennsylvania coal-fields using language which he himself would have described as "Bolshevik" a year ago, and when the conservative State Industrial Commission of Colorado urges unionization of the blood-stained mines of that State, something is happening. The Senatorial discovery of the black feudalism in Pennsylvania has brought into the headlines of the metropolitan newspapers items which a few months ago would have gone into the editorial scrapbaskets. "Court Order Evicts 285 Mine Families"; "Railroad Banned Union Coal"—these are educational headlines.

There are two aspects of the problem of the coal mines. One is an administrative, organization problem. The industry has run wild; the "free play of competition" has reduced it to anarchy. There are too many units, and they mine too much coal. The operators themselves recognize this, but they preserve their religious abhorrence of government interference. Sooner or later, we believe, they will recognize that they cannot solve their problem without governmental help. It is conceivable that a genius will arise among the coal operators with capacity to reorganize the whole industry without aid from the government. Oil and coal, two of the basic industries of the United States, are running a race in competitive waste. Neither pays its workers decently; in both some operators make fortunes, and hundreds of others are crowded ruthlessly to the wall; and in this mad, speculative game the subsoil wealth of the country is being recklessly wasted. Consolidation by private agreement would be likely to run foul of the anti-trust laws, but business men will not consent to government control until faced with ruin.

However obvious the main lines of such a solution, they are politically impossible today. The current discussion will help, but the pessimistic notes struck by Professors Warne and Hamilton in this issue of *The Nation* are based upon political realism. The public must be hurt more before such action will be possible. Yet the exposure of the indecency of the coal barons toward their industrial serfs is helping in another direction. One part of the coal problem would be met if the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States were enforced in the coal-fields. The men do not have free speech or free assembly. They cannot organize. They dare not protest against the conditions that debase them. Some of the operators, as Messrs. Limpus and Codel show, have not the faintest glimmer of the meaning of industrial democracy. Charles M. Schwab and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., on the witness-stand in Washington, showed a generous ignorance of conditions in their own companies, but they had a faint apprehension of the meaning of collective bargaining which the Mellon representatives lacked. And the action of the Colorado Industrial Commission, in a State where Mr. Rockefeller's plan of company unionism has had the fullest trial and has gone down to ruin amid needless idleness and violence, should teach intelligent masters of industry a lesson. "Experience has shown that it is not to the best interests of the employees to leave their welfare exclusively in the hands of the employer," says this commission, mildly enough, and it recommends "restitution of collective bargaining through non-company unions."

The United Mine Workers of America have not a very good record of industrial statesmanship, but it can at least be said that where the union has held control of a coal-field it has maintained decent living conditions. The bloodshed of the Colorado mines can be traced directly to the long effort of the mine-owners there to keep out the union; and the worst mine conditions of America today are in the rigidly non-union mines of West Virginia and Kentucky. The demoralization of the industry today is in part a direct result of an organized attempt to destroy the coal miners' union. It is the overproduction, at a less than human wage, of those non-union fields which is directly responsible for the destruction of union standards in the North and the ruin of cheerful union mine communities. An immediate step which is possible today is an insistence upon the right of workers in American mines to organize to defend themselves economically. Where men live in company houses, in company towns, mistreated by company coal and iron police, not permitted to speak publicly, to meet, picket, or organize, American freedom is meaningless.

Rejecting Peace

THE eager enthusiasm with which the Powers at Geneva rejected the Russian proposal for complete disarmament does them no credit. They were assembled in a "Preparatory Commission on Disarmament," called together under the auspices of the League of Nations, and the Soviet Government did them the honor to suggest serious action in disarmament. It appalled them; Mr. Litvinov's own statement explains why:

> There has been more than enough discussion of disarmament [he said]. I venture to furnish the members of this commission with a few data from which it will be seen that in addition to the general Assemblies of the League of Nations and the Council meetings, thirty-eight sessions of which occupied themselves with the question of disarmament, not fewer than fourteen different commissions have devoted more than 120 sessions—not sittings, mark you, but sessions—to this same question, on which 111 resolutions have been passed by the general Assemblies and Council alone.
>
> Turning to the results of this vast quantity of work, the documentation of which has taken reams of paper, we are forced to the conclusion that not a single real step has been taken toward realization of disarmament. . . . The Soviet Government declares that it is ready to abolish all military forces in accordance with its draft convention as soon as a similar decision is passed and simultaneously carried out by other states. The Soviet Government asks the other governments represented here if they are also ready.

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Count von Bernstorff for Germany, and Tewfik Pasha for Turkey, replied that they were ready to discuss sympathetically the Soviet proposals for complete and immediate disarmament. The Western Powers, led by England, replied with sneers and jibes. The very idea of complete and immediate disarmament was repulsive to them. They had not sent delegates to Geneva, it plainly appeared, with any intention of disarming, or of moving toward disarmament; they desired merely to use the word "disarmament" sufficiently often and sufficiently loud to placate the peace sentiment at home.

Lord Cushendun's speech ridiculing the Soviet position was a disgrace to Great Britain. He carried into the session of the Disarmament Commission the grim campaign which Britain is waging upon Russia on a dozen fronts. The attention paid to the Amir of Afghanistan in London—the parades of tanks, the air maneuvers, the submarine excursions—are part of the same campaign; a silent war is being fought in China; and the British are resentful because they permitted the Russians to steal a march on them and to suggest to the League the inclusion of Turkey in the present Disarmament Conference.

Lord Cushendun did not so much discuss the Soviet proposals for disarmament as denounce the Soviet Government; and in so doing he falsified history. If there is any point upon which the Soviet scutcheon is clean it is on this very matter of foreign wars. Its first years were clouded by a war waged against it by the Allies because it dared make peace with Germany and propose peace for all the world. France and Britain, the United States and Japan, sent their soldiers and munitions into its territory without declaration of war. Lord Cushendun called the Soviet interest in disarmament "sudden." But as far back as the Conference of Genoa, in 1922, the Russians suggested a discussion of disarmament—in vain. It was not Russia's fault that she was not represented at the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments, and Lord Cushendun grievously misstated the fact when he credited the League with any share in the achievements of that meeting. He objected because Soviet statesmen and the Soviet press have denounced the League, but so have the American press and American statesmen; and Mr. Litvinov's history of the League negotiations upon disarmament shows that participation in these sessions is no evidence of interest in the subject. For that matter, Viscount Cecil resigned from Lord Cushendun's own Government in protest against its attitude on the question of armament.

Our own American representative joined in cold-shouldering the Russian proposals. He thought them so divergent from the committee's draft that they were not even worth further study. But there is no evidence that he or anyone else at this Disarmament Conference—except the Russians and the disarmed Germans—had any interest in any program of disarmament, least of all in such a sweeping program as the Russian. The conference adjourned futilely and foolishly, having done nothing except to advertise Western hypocrisy.

What *The Nation* said four months ago it repeats: "The way to disarm is to disarm. . . . We welcome with all our hearts the Russian proposals. It is our deliberate judgment that if persisted in they will give to the Soviets the moral leadership of the world." They have been persisted in; and the action of the Western Powers has strengthened Russia's moral position.

Spring in the Cosmos

THE northern half of the earth—in our hemispherical conceit we call it the top half—has been tilting slowly downward toward the sun since that day in December when it had withdrawn to its highest and darkest point. A few days ago it took a position midway between the deep frown of December and the broad smile of June, and we said that Spring was here. But the sun does not know this; space does not know it; the ether, if there is any, is not interested in the fact that the rays which now speed through it are having a different effect upon the surface of a certain irregularly whirling ball from that which they had three months ago—what is three months to the ether, if there is any ether? The physical universe, wherein even the solar system is only the minutest of particles, is not aware that Spring has come. It feels nothing more than it would feel if an astronomer drew straight and curved lines on a sheet of paper to indicate the movements of its spheres. In time, as the cosmos knows it, the succession of winter and summer, of night and day, is as the whirring of a shutter which opens and closes so fast that neither black nor white appears, but merely eternal gray. And in some stretches of space there is not even a shutter.

Time as we know it, however, is not like this. For us there is such a thing as the coming of Spring, and to us it makes all the difference in the world. The three months since December ended have been more than appreciably long; they have seemed, if they have not been, interminable. And now when we get up in the morning we look out upon walls splashed with light that we are tempted to think was never there before. We say "It is a nice day," even though we remember that March's appearance of warmth is still deceptive and that we are not to be surprised by many changes in the sky before sunset. Days for us do differ. Seasons do come and go. So as we walk from home we pay more attention to the zenith than we have been paying to it for months; or, if we count ourselves among those who peep and botanize, we bestow fresh glances at the earth to see how all things in it are taking the new temperature. The birds, who never desert the sun while earth shifts under them North and South, have already come in numbers; we note them now with approval, and begin to think of still longer days when they will hide in the full branches of maple trees at noon. Or furtively we write Spring poems, blushing to think what our friends would say if they found them in our pockets, and resolving not to send them to those editorial offices where long ago it became the fashion to laugh at singers of the green season.

It is the fashion to laugh at bad Spring poetry, yet the oldest good poetry was on this theme—the earliest people who expressed themselves at all did so upon the occasion of the sun's return—and in the literature of any known nation, Chinese, Provençal, or Greek, some of the least tarnished pieces are pieces inspired by the equinox. It is possible to write very bad poetry upon a subject so great and old; but it is equally possible to write very good poetry around a fact of which all men have always been acutely conscious. Men will never be astronomers in March and April; they will find the crocus quite as important temporarily as the cosmos. The cosmos can take care of itself. But Spring is ours, and must be recognized.

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It Seems to Heywood Broun

LOUIS BROMFIELD is mad at the critics. His disaffection from the fraternity has been embodied in an essay called A Critique of Criticism, published by Stokes in "Mirrors of the Year." It is reasonable that those who suffer at the hands of reviewers should answer back with as much asperity as possible. But it may be mentioned that Mr. Bromfield qualifies as one who has received within a year or so both adulation and acid. His last novel was wildly acclaimed. His play was damned. Accordingly this creative artist is in a position to say that he holds both the praise and censure of the scribblers in equal contempt. And he says just that.

I agree with Mr. Bromfield that criticism in America does more harm in its excessive kindliness than in its savagery. Moreover there is small chance to deny the assertion that America boasts, at the moment, no great figures who deal in criticism exclusively. Still, A Critique of Criticism is not wholly logical if taken as a brief. In one paragraph the essayist complains that American reviewing is addicted to mass movements and that all the magistrates insist upon honoring the same person at the same time, while earlier in his article he writes:

> With the assistance of helpers we undertook to cross-file the volume of criticism in another fashion—the good against the bad; and in at least 60 per cent of the cases we found the results utterly baffling. The poor author was unable to draw any sane conclusion except perhaps that criticism in America was a mad business. Side by side were to be found reviews condemning the author as a tyro and praising him as the best writer of the past decade. . . . Side by side were articles praising his style and condemning it.

There seems to me no soundness whatsoever in this objection. Even in the golden days, when criticism flourished, it never was nurtured by unanimity. Difference of opinion is as vital to the art of criticism as to the sport of horse-racing. And surely Mr. Bromfield does not believe that there exists, buried in some pyramid, a yardstick by which style may be measured so that it can be classified and standardized like eggs or wheat. For instance, I intend to fight for my right to think that Louis Bromfield, himself, assembles words in a manner not dulcet to my ear. To others he is a stormy sea beating upon a rock-bound coast with fascinating cadence. Who is wise enough to give decision now? Since the matter is vital we must all wait with bated breath till that august tribunal Posterity dons somber robes and comes to sit in judgment. And merely as a sporting offer I'll back my view at odds of two to one for any sum if Mr. Bromfield will let the wager run two centuries.

Some of the novelist's points against the critics are well taken but not, I think, of sufficient moment to justify his heat. He tilts against the use of "best" in journalistic appraisal. To him it is a high crime for any reviewer to speak of the best book of the week, or month, or year. In this citation I think his observation is a shade inaccurate. The form as I know it runs a little differently. Much more commonly the critic says, "This is the best book I have read in the last six months." There is no intention to be pontifical or to hint that this judgment has been reached through divine revelation. Very possibly even this mild form is somewhat idiotic but I fail to see in just what way the future of American literature is endangered by its usage.

There is soundness in Mr. Bromfield's complaint that critics all suffer from the Columbus complex. "There is," he says, "a rather tragic game in America called Discovering a New Author and most 'critics' play at it." But this is an issue for which we should take our quotes off. There is such a game and critics play it here and in France, Germany, and England. Nor need we exclude the Scandinavian. In fact the pastime is traditional with all who have ever undertaken to evaluate the creative artist from the beginning of time. Because of the game, gross errors have been made. Unworthy souls have been puffed beyond their deserts but still it has served to succor some in garrets. There must be a recognition in the very beginning that critics are, like the rest of us, sons of old Adam. The artist creates in order to magnify his ego and the critic criticizes for the same reason. In only two ways may the reviewer triumph. He will acquire merit whenever he sees more deeply into the stirred waters than any other and he will get some small twigs from the laurel if he is the first to come upon the pool where miracles are made. Readily I will agree that stout Cortez has too many emulators among American critics. In newspapers the attention paid to brand-new books is out of all proportion. There is no reason why a commentator should not turn back upon occasion to some musty volume which has been out for an entire year. But even in this process of turning back to antiquity there still rides in the heart of the explorer a hope that he may find some golden things which his competitors neglected. At the least the man who delves is intent upon rediscovery.

Louis Bromfield would have more poise in the attitude of reviewers. Upon his juries he would accept none but Olympians. But even on Olympus cliques and jealousies and passions were not unknown. When Mr. Bromfield complains about the excessive effervescence of modern criticism, and mourns because America no longer has any such cool, calm intelligence as that of James Huneker I am a little puzzled. Can it be that Huneker is so soon forgotten? When called back from the dead to point this moral his memory is hardly flattered, for the truth of the matter is that Huneker could throw his hat higher into the air than any reviewer now functioning within our borders. It was Huneker more than any other American who succeeded in stirring up a national interest in the art of other countries. He led us in a leap across the ocean and that can't be done with a standing jump. There must be a running start. Huneker shouted as he ran and waved his arms. Compared to him Paul Revere moved like a mouse upon linoleum.

If there ever was a personal and passionate American critic his name was James Huneker. Once a fellow-worker came into his coop on an evening when Huneker was engaged upon a review of a performance by Mary Garden and immediately he tiptoed out as fast as his feet would carry him. "I felt," he explained, "like Peeping Tom of Coventry."

Mr. Bromfield says that most American critics are merely exhibitionists. His essay was written shortly after he had completed a lecture tour of the women's clubs in the Middle West.

HEYWOOD BROUN

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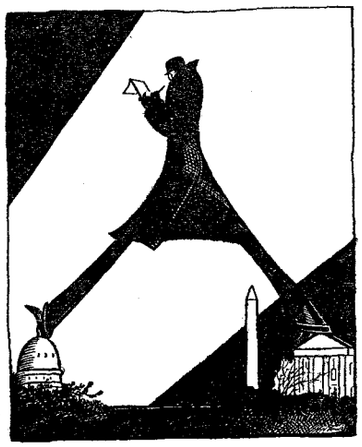
Covering Washington

The Nation's *Biweekly Washington Letter*

By THE UNOFFICIAL SPOKESMAN

Washington, D. C., March 24



AS Secretary of the Treasury, Andrew W. Mellon permitted, if he did not actually inspire, his subordinates to refund vast sums in taxes to corporations in which he was heavily interested. He advocated and secured extortionate tariff rates upon products in which he and his family have a monopoly. He used his official position to prevent an investigation of that monopoly. He contributed to, and defended the use of, the most colossal slush fund ever raised in a Senatorial campaign in this country. He holds his office in open and flagrant violation of the statute which bars it to any man engaged directly or indirectly in trade or commerce. He has now been exposed as one who joined in concealing the most scandalous fraud ever perpetrated upon the government of the United States. If he had the faintest sense of delicacy or propriety, he would retire from public life. Nevertheless, Senator Couzens's resolution, declaring it to be the sense of the Senate that he should resign, is practically certain to fail of adoption. Smeared with oil and smelling of Liberty bonds, the man who wields the federal taxing power is still formidable. His power was sufficient to prevent an investigation of the aluminum trust. It was sufficient eventually to force the adoption of the essential features of his tax program in behalf of the very wealthy. Morally, Mr. Mellon is discredited. Politically, he wields a lash under which Democrats as well as Republicans are wont to cower. The power to tax is the power to destroy in more ways than one, and Mr. Mellon repeatedly has demonstrated his willingness to use it without scruple. Senator Couzens discovered that once before, when, in reprisal for his independence and honesty, a $10,000,000 penalty was slapped on him by the Treasury Department. He will discover it again if his resolution comes to a vote—which seems unlikely. In a crisis involving Mr. Mellon, there are always enough Democrats like Bruce of Maryland, Hawes of Missouri, and Blease of South Carolina, to overbalance the defection of such independent Republicans as Norris, La Follette, and Couzens himself.

* * * * *

MELLON'S testimony before the Walsh Committee last week accurately indicates the degree of candor which may be expected of him, just as it illuminates the sincerity of his professions in favor of honest government. Defending his prolonged silence concerning the $50,000 in Sinclair bonds which Will Hays offered him in 1923, he explained that the incident was so trivial he felt no obligation to disclose it to the men who for four years had exhausted every effort to discover what was done with those bonds, and who handled them. He pleaded that his information would have added nothing material to that already in the committee's possession. It was a hollow and spurious plea. Until two weeks before Mr. Mellon's appearance on the stand the committee had no evidence that the tainted Continental bonds had been peddled around by Hays for the purpose of concealing Sinclair's enormous gift to the Republican Party. Mr. Mellon could have supplied that information. He withheld it. The facts about the Continental Trading Company's corrupt connection with the Teapot Dome lease were unearthed in 1924. If Mr. Mellon did not at once connect those facts with the offer which Hays had made to him a year before he is vastly more obtuse than any Washingtonian believes him to be.

* * * * *

BECAUSE of his high character and magnificent record, one hesitates long before implying that Senator Walsh could be influenced in his duty, even by the hope of the Presidency. But the elaborate tenderness with which he handled Mr. Mellon on the witness-stand, together with a strange waning of his aggressiveness in other phases of the oil inquiry, have caused dark head-shakings and mutterings. He left it to Senator Nye to ask Mellon why he had remained silent about the Sinclair bonds for so long. He left it to Senator Wagner to ask him why he had joined in a scheme to influence the editorial policies of the foreign-language press during the campaigns of 1920 and 1924. He contented himself with bestowing a gratuitous compliment upon the Secretary for his refusal to accept Hays's disreputable proposal, and said nothing at all about the Secretary's almost equally disreputable suppression of the fact that the proposal had been made.

* * * * *

NEWSPAPERS like the New York *Herald Tribune* and the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* were quick to seize upon this idle compliment, which they distorted into a vindication by Walsh of Mellon's whole course of action. Mellon Absolved of Blame was the astonishing headline which appeared over one such story. It may be argued in Walsh's behalf, of course, that he cannot be held responsible for the lack of ethics which produced such deliberate and flagrant garbling of his words and their plain meaning. But it was hardly the moment for compliments to Mr. Mellon. A man who conceals a fraud deserves no flowers for having refused to become an active participant.

* * * * *

THE applause with which the *Herald Tribune* rewards Senator Walsh's restraint can hardly be gratifying to him. When that newspaper concludes that he is proceeding against Republican corruption with "dignity and pro-

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priety," the Senator may well pause to scrutinize his own methods. Especially will his suspicion be warranted when he finds the same editorial referring to the investigation of 1924, "when the egregious Wheeler ran away with the committee, and converted the oil investigation into a well of slander." Every newspaper in the country, except the egregious *Herald Tribune*, knows that Senator Wheeler has never been a member of the committee, and has never taken the slightest part in the oil investigation, either in 1924 or any other year. In its vague, muddled way, the *Herald Tribune* probably is thinking of the select committee which in 1924 investigated the administration of the Department of Justice by Harry M. Daugherty. Wheeler was a member of that committee, and the disclosures which he elicited forced the reluctant Mr. Coolidge to ask for Daugherty's resignation as Attorney General. Is it that event which the *Herald Tribune* editor is lamenting? Or was he merely parroting the familiar complaint of Daugherty, Blair Coan, and the rest of the gang from the Little Green House on K Street, without troubling to recall where he heard it?

The Plight of Soft Coal

By WALTON H. HAMILTON

THE story of bituminous coal is an oft-repeated history that runs from crisis to crisis. For a time the industry goes its unobtrusive way; the consumers have little trouble in filling their bins, the operators lord it over their private domains, the mine-workers do such work as they can find for such wages as they can get, and the public takes no interest in so obvious a thing as coal. Then the veil of peace is torn aside, and the industry is for the moment endowed with a grave public interest.

The strike sets the stage for a dramatic presentation of the great confusion that is coal. Quietly as matters may be taken at first, inevitably the troubles of the bituminous industry break into the headlines, and millions of words, most of them a verbal heritage from previous crises, jump into type. Interested individuals, investigators for organizations, and even representatives of Congress visit the front and bring back stories of a situation much in need of mending. A host of members fill the legislative hopper with bills for intervention, for peace by an act of the state, for a thoroughgoing revision of the arrangements of the industry.

But the fundamental reorganization never comes off. Before the voice of the people becomes the will of the legislature some sort of truce is patched up. There may, as in 1922, be an agreement between the mine-workers and the operators in the whole union territory; there may, as in 1906, be separate settlements, district by district; there may, as seems likely in 1927-1928, be surrenders, local agreements, and a continuing guerrilla warfare. But, however it comes about and whatever its terms, peace is made, statutes die in the making, and the disorders of coal cease to be of general concern.

The bituminous coal question did not emerge in a day. For a very long time bituminous coal promised to be only a minor worry to the community. As was fitting to a petty industry, coal-mining was developed under the usages of petty trade. The industry was open; anyone who could command the necessary resources was free to enter it, but no one was constrained to do so. The market was open; anyone who had the price was free to purchase, but there could be no forced sale upon an unwilling buyer. The working places were open; there was no compulsion upon the operator to hire or upon the laborer to accept a job. Each person who ran a mine, purchased coal, or became a mine-worker was free to seek his own best advantage; each was prevented from overreaching himself at the expense of others by the necessity of selling his coal, purchasing his fuel, or disposing of his services in rivalry with others who might undersell or overbid him. The competitive mechanism of petty trade was depended upon to keep the mining of coal orderly and efficient.

So long as coal remained a petty trade and consumers were supplied from nearby mines, the system at least worked. The trouble began when in the course of unintended events coal was exalted to a high place in the national economy. The series of changes called the industrial revolution introduced the machine process, dotted the landscape with factories, and quickened small businesses into great industries. The new system of production required a gigantic and continuous stream of fuel to keep it going; it found its single large and dependable source of supply in coal.

This demand for an "industrial-energies" industry raised anew the question of the control of coal. An organization which had grown up in response to the requirements of petty trade could hardly be expected to meet the larger needs of a great "key" industry. In time the various groups concerned each tried its hand at patching up the inherited scheme of order. The operators knew that the labor problem was too big for even the biggest of them and felt vaguely that other matters of concern to all were beyond the reach of any; they tried to organize trade associations. The workers found wages distressingly low, employment none too plentiful, and conditions of work far from ideal; they set out to develop a strong trade union. The State governments came to be persuaded that coal could not be left entirely alone and began to regulate the industry. Each aimed to end the unruliness of the industry by appending a new control to the ancient system of free competition.

But a lagging organization was not so easily to be adapted to the demands of a strategic industry. It was long after needs had arisen before half-hearted attempts were made to devise new instruments of control. The operators and miners worked at cross-purposes, creating a fault line through the industry, leaving it half union and half "free." The government felt it wise to walk warily in invading the domain of coal.

The net result of these protracted attempts to bring the organization of the industry up to date is easily set down. Not one of the instruments of control, whether it be trade association, labor union, legislative code, or what-not, extends over even one-half of the industry. Not one offers an agency and a procedure through which a major question can be

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made a matter of conscious policy. A strategic industry is still controlled by a scheme of arrangements which grew up to meet the needs of petty trade.

The demand for coal is almost the only certain thing in an industry beset with uncertainties; at present the requirement is for nearly 550,000,000 tons each year. For the most part this demand comes from industries in need of power; it rises as the index of production moves upward and falls with its decline. It depends very little upon the price of coal, for the cost of fuel is a minor item among expenses of production. It responds very indifferently to stimulation by advertising or to adroit salesmanship.

Over against this demand is to be set down a capacity to produce far too unruly to serve as a balance. The law of the land, with a true devotion to democracy, invites whosoever will to take a chance at the prizes of mining. Rich and abundant deposits, easy of access, receptive to recovery, are a lure to the adventurous. Fresh enterprises have been started to produce coal that could be had at far less expense from old workings. Every rise in the price curve has created newly manned ventures and never a sag has cleared away superfluous undertakings. The sprawling domain of coal, beginning in the East, has taken its wasteful and disorderly way toward the West and the South.

And, as if the deliberate opening of new mines were not enough, human ingenuity and initiative have helped to make the industry a jumble of enterprises. The cost-sheets tempt the alert manager to improve methods, to eliminate needless operations, to articulate processes more closely, to substitute docile machines for more vociferous units of human labor. As the new machines, the new processes, the new administration make their way underground they accomplish a thing which was no part of the reason for their introduction. Since they enable the mine to be worked more rapidly, a given area will within a period of time yield a larger amount of coal. Thus a capacity to produce, already overdone by the opening of unneeded mines, is swollen still further by an addition which is a mere by-product of the advance in the art of mining.

Nor is there hope, under the regime of free enterprise, for an elimination of this excess capacity. The great surplus has come with the slow, the irregular, the ofttimes interrupted development of machine mining. At present, even under the wasteful conditions of operation which are usual, the mines of the country are capable of yielding very nearly one thousand millions of tons, almost double the requirements of the country. For the future an increasing excess capacity promises indefinitely to characterize the industry.

This unstable equilibrium sets the stage for an unorthodox competitive struggle without benefit of the usages of petty trade. A demand independent of price, and a capacity to produce which is lost to control, render impotent the very devices upon which competition relies to keep the industry orderly. The many coal companies engage in a scramble for a market which is too small to go around. Since the bulk of coal is mined to order, it is capacity rather than product which is peddled from factory door to factory door. The rival concerns come to secure such custom as they can command at such prices as they can get. The ordinary operator finds his market and his gross receipts alike uncertain; he gets into a hand-to-mouth habit of running his affairs, doing the best he can with the situation at the moment, and thinking none too much and none too shrewdly about the days ahead. It would take a volume to set forth, in orderly fashion and with attendant circumstance, the resulting mal-organization in a disorderly structure of mines, a backward art of mining, a belated use of machinery, a wasteful employment of labor, and a reckless using up of human and material resources.

The continued union of a national industry and a petty-trade scheme of control has left behind a long, checkered, and repetitious history in the dusty annals of coal. It has played fast and loose with all the parties who have had an interest in coal-mining.

The consumer, whose reputed role is that of innocent victim, seems to be the only beneficiary of competition. Even if on occasions he has had to give what he calls outrageous sums for such coal as he could get, his purchases have usually imposed no severe tax upon him. None the less he has had his bothers. The coal which has poured into his bin has been far from uniform in quality; railroad charges have not accurately reflected carriage costs; and the operators have exacted quite different tolls from different consumers. There have been interruptions in mining and at recurrent crises at least a fear of no coal to be had at any price.

Since to the public every squire of a dinky mine is a "coal baron," the plight of the operator does not invite national mourning. Yet, in spite of lucky concerns which maintain solvency or even achieve affluence, the ordinary head of a bituminous mine has been caught in the toils of the general confusion. The inexorable pressure of the market forces him to pare his costs to the very minimum. Run-of-the-mine sort of person that he is, it is not out of sheer malice that he pays miserly earnings to his workers, overlooks the protection of life and limb, and neglects conditions of living; he would often prefer to avoid the low morale which attends industrial struggle. As recent events have shown, it is the operator who tries to live up to a union agreement who suffers most. With an evasive market in front and business failure at his heels, it is no wonder that the records abound in bankruptcies and reorganizations.

The lot of the miners reflects the chaos and depression of the industry. The operators have, as far as possible, passed their burden along to the workers. There has grown up a tangled, disorderly, and inequitable network of wage-rates. Certain rates compare favorably with those in other industries; but employment is irregular, and even a miner cannot live by wage-rates alone. The conditions of work and the protection of life and limb are alike far from uniform; a trickle of accidents day by day accumulates into statistical tables which are appalling, and an occasional disaster results in so large a number of casualties as to suggest a battle. Almost everywhere there is a dearth of opportunities for recreation, for education, for personal development —for mine-workers themselves, for their wives, and for their children.

Nor do the laborers possess an agency by which they may avoid taking up the slack of industrial disorder. At one time the United Mine Workers of America comprehended half the bituminous mines; now less than one-third of them are subject to its waning influence. From the first it was intended to be an industrial union; yet it has attempted to meet the unsual conditions of bituminous mining with the strategy usual in craft unionism. It has welcomed into the industry all the workers who have cared to

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come, and yet has depended for its success upon a monopoly of labor. It has resorted to the strike when the deficit of coal could all be supplied from non-union fields. The use of the strike in an industry so overdeveloped that 500,000 men are employed to do the work that half that number could accomplish, attests a slavish devotion to an outworn creed. Yet the union is the only instrument whereby miners can protect their living, and the strike the only weapon the officials and men are accustomed to employ.

Most important of all, the great disorder has resulted in making the role of every man in the drama of coal anything but a heroic one. For behind action, the pretense of action, and the lack of action lies a muddled state of mind. There is from some a doleful complaint that the price of coal is too high, that barons and mine-workers are mulcting the public. Others are prone to attribute the wrong, whatever it is, to a vague, mythical, unholy sort of something called "capitalism." Still others in solemn chorus insist that appearance is only appearance; that the reality is that of a well-behaved industry; that the bituminous problem is all a myth. It is the chief count against the prevailing order that it has created a body of general opinion in its likeness.

It is unfortunate that the plight of bituminous coal presents an economic and not a technological problem; for our ways of meeting the two are so different. A technological problem we intrust to competent persons who begin by asking what is to be done and proceed to contrive ways for bringing about the result. But we would never think of intrusting the bituminous question to a group of competent economists and engineers who would begin by asking what the coal industry was expected to do and proceed to contrive and fit together a scheme of arrangements which would give a reasonable chance of exacting from it a specific performance.

The Coal War

By COLSTON E. WARNE

CHEAP Southern coal largely explains the tragedy which has overtaken the coal-fields of Pennsylvania and Ohio. Sixty thousand men have been on strike for a year. Thousands more are unemployed. Hundreds of mines are bankrupt. Many more are losing money. In Illinois and Indiana the situation is scarcely better. The Northern coal industry is on its back. "Conditions which exist in the strike-torn regions of the Pittsburgh district are a blotch upon American civilization" is the report of the Senate investigating committee. "It is inconceivable that such squalor, suffering, misery, and distress should be tolerated in the heart of one of the richest industrial districts of the world."

At the base of this struggle are the widely varying labor standards of the Northern and Southern fields. Thirty years of collective bargaining in the Northern States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois brought a steady increase in wage-rates and a marked improvement in working conditions. Neat little mining villages were built up, especially in Illinois and Indiana, where privately owned homes are the rule. The check-weighman and the pit committee became fixed institutions. Qualification laws for miners were passed in Illinois and Indiana. Miners in this Northern field felt secure. Operators came to accept the union as a desirable institution which established a standard wage scale for the industry. Both operators and miners were, in fact, lulled into a comfortable security, broken only by intermittent dickerings as to the rate of pay.

So it was that little attention was paid to the rich mining area to the south. Though freight rates were early fixed at levels which would allow Kentucky, West Virginia, and Tennessee coal to compete in the Northern markets, development in the Southern field was limited up to the time of the World War. Slowly, however, Negroes and mountaineers were trained in the art of coal-digging and company towns were established. From the beginning, unionism was everywhere resisted. With the company controlling the houses, the ground, the stores, and the government, prevailing labor standards and wages came to be very low. This, coupled with the use of modernized mining equipment and the war demand for coal, brought a speculative boom in West Virginia and Kentucky. The security of the Northern mines was challenged.

The United Mine Workers met this challenge by concerted drives to unionize the West Virginia field. Bloody battles followed between 1919 and 1923 which often amounted to civil war. Injunctions, gunmen, and the "yellow-dog" contract broke the drive of the union. Finally, in 1922, a nation-wide strike was called. This strike, though effective in limiting the production of coal, failed to unionize West Virginia. Indeed, the union through bad bungling sacrificed 100,000 newly unionized workers in the coke region of western Pennsylvania.

For the past five years the union coal-fields of the North have been paying the penalty of this defeat. Miners and operators alike have suffered. Not only have the low labor standards of the South proved disastrous, but the development of a new mining area in a period when the market for coal was stationary was suicidal to the industry. In 1913, for example, the Pittsburgh district alone produced 71 million tons of coal. This amount had by 1925 dwindled to 48 million tons, while production in Kentucky and West Virginia rose from 90 to 177 million tons. Again, since 1920, the Pittsburgh area has lost to Southern producers all of a 48-million-ton increase in the demand in Mid-Western and Lake markets.

In an ever-increasing flood, the Southern non-union coal, mined on a $3 to $4 wage scale and aided by a favorable freight-rate structure, has rolled northward into the markets displacing the Northern competitors who had long dominated the field. With the union miners insistent upon receiving a $7.50 wage from companies whose sales and profits were rapidly declining, industrial warfare became inevitable. The greater the encroachment of the Southern fields, the more necessary the higher scale became to the union miner, since the days worked per year declined greatly.

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The impending battle would have been staged in the spring of 1924 had not the Republicans thought it best to pacify the miners until after election. Under political pressure, an armistice—the Jacksonville agreement—was signed to preserve peace until April 1, 1927. This armistice was maintained in Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio despite comparative stagnation in these union fields. In Pennsylvania and northern West Virginia, however, repudiation was common. Large operators like the Consolidation Coal Company, the Pittsburgh Coal Company, the Bethlehem Mines Corporation, and the Buffalo, Rochester, and Pittsburgh mines were among those breaking their contract, in 1924 and 1925, in the endeavor to achieve lower labor costs. Most of these companies finally reduced the wage scale 33 1/3 per cent, to the 1917 level. Strikes ensued, the majority of which are still nominally continuing. The Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce in 1925 "impartially" surveyed the mine situation with funds supplied by the Pittsburgh Coal Company. After due deliberation, the chamber sponsored a plan for the reduction of wages and the establishment of company unionism in the mines of that concern.

With a loss of 150,000 members during the three years ended December 1, 1926, and with the menace of the non-union fields greater than ever before, the United Mine Workers was forced either to accept a reduction or to fight a battle against tremendous odds. Under the slogan "No backward step," the latter course was followed. A nation-wide strike which was called for April 1, 1927, brought out 120,000 miners from Illinois, Indiana, and outlying districts, together with 60,000 men from Ohio and Pennsylvania. Thus the organization which, five years before, had on its rolls 65 per cent of the bituminous miners, had only a 30 per cent grip on the industry. Even this hold was largely lost when in the summer of 1927 the union felt it expedient to sign a truce with Illinois, Indiana, and other Western operators providing for the payment of the Jacksonville scale up to April 1, 1928. Of the union fields, Pennsylvania and Ohio were alone left on strike. Production of coal at once returned to the level of market requirements. With 200,000 extra miners and a 400-million-ton extra capacity in the industry, the striking miners failed to cause a ripple in the coal market. Indeed the price of coal sagged; the greater share of purchases being made at $2 a ton or less at the tipple. Large consumers, particularly the railroads, noting the condition of the industry, encouraged a cutthroat competition among producers.

The chief hope, then, of the striking miners has been that of making operation under non-union conditions so costly to the mining companies that the attempt would be abandoned. The operators for their part have attempted to break the spirit of the strikers by the use of company police, injunctions, evictions, and the importation of strike-breakers, and thus to reestablish regular operation. At the close of a year of these bulldog tactics the issue is still deadlocked. Millions have been lost by operating companies. Bankruptcy has been most common. In the case of one well-located mining concern for which definite information is available, the market value of the property since 1923 has shrunk from $1,250,000 to less than $150,000. The only ray of hope in the situation has, indeed, been a decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission giving Pittsburgh a twenty-cent added freight differential over Southern competitors. This, however, does not seem sufficient to evoke enthusiasm over future prospects.

Still these financial losses, large as they have been, are small compared to the human costs of this struggle. With the exception of the meager $3-a-week relief irregularly granted by the United Mine Workers as strike benefit, the burden of carrying on the fight has fallen upon the shoulders of the miners, their families, and the communities in which they live. The resources of all are now almost wholly exhausted. Everywhere the food supply is inadequate. In some areas, outside relief agencies are active. The left wing Pennsylvania and Ohio Relief Committee handles labor funds. The American Friends' Service Committee has gone into central Pennsylvania; the National Guard has opened soup kitchens in Ohio; at the instance of a church appeal the social agencies of Pittsburgh have covered Allegheny County. The condition, indeed, became so bad that in February, 1928, the leading business men of Pittsburgh formed a relief organization which received even the support of the mine-owners. This effort has been coordinated with the administration of the Clergymen's Fund, and the result has been adequate financing for a subsistence minimum in Allegheny County.

Between employer and employee, friendly relationships growing out of years of mutual understanding have been ruthlessly severed. Not only does deep-seated antagonism arise because of the employment of strike-breakers; it has also resulted from the annoyance brought on by guerrilla warfare. Everywhere disrespect for law is being created. The miners feel, with reason, that the courts have been unfair in the issuance of injunctions. The order of Judge Langham of Indiana County, Pennsylvania, which forbade the giving of relief, the posting of strike notices, and picketing is but indicative of the trend. In western Pennsylvania and in eastern Ohio picketing and free assemblage have likewise been limited by the courts.

Miners are furthermore increasingly convinced that in the coal-fields capitalistic enterprise has utterly failed. For twenty years they have averaged but 215 days of work a year. Recently the situation has become worse rather than better. The accident rate has been appalling. In ten years there have been 535 accidents for each 1,000 men employed in coal-mining in the State of Pennsylvania. The average time lost is 40 days. During a lifetime (forty years) of work a miner stands 17.2 chances out of 1,000 of being killed in a mine accident. In this risky and unstable industry living standards at best have scarcely approached the level of a living wage. The Jacksonville scale netted the average miner between $1,200 and $1,500. Out of this amount, an average of $10 a month was paid as rent for the usual four- or five-room company house. Two out of one hundred of these houses have bath-tubs, thirteen out of a hundred have running water. The savings through inferior housing standards are largely taken up in higher food costs. The 1922 Coal Commission estimated that an expenditure for food of $800 a year was necessary to provide a healthful living for an average miner's family. If the living standards under the Jacksonville scale were already low, the miners seem justified in contending that 25 to 33 per cent wage cuts will not serve to better their condition. Indeed, wage cuts in the Pennsylvania field tend only to give impetus to greater reductions in the Southern districts.

What, then, is likely to come out of the struggle in Pennsylvania and Ohio? Just what is desired by the contending parties? Strangely enough, both the operators and the International officers of the United Mine Workers are,

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in general, supporting the same solution. In testimony before the Senate Committee, both request the right of coal companies to consolidate, both seem on the whole willing to have some measure of price control, or at least supervision of the industry, and both desire higher freight differentials in favor of the Northern mines. Indeed, the only discernible difference lies in the desire of the union to maintain collective bargaining and the Jacksonville scale. Most operators would willingly grant the collective bargaining if it were on a lower wage basis.

It is significant to note that the beliefs of the International officers and of the rank and file of the United Mine Workers are somewhat at variance. An insurgent "Save the Union" movement is gaining great headway, especially in the strike area. This movement is led by John Brophy, a former district president, who in 1926 contested for the International presidency of the union. For nearly a year this progressive wing of the miners was silent, feeling that at any cost a united front must be maintained. It was only when apathy and discouragement were sapping the effectiveness of the strike and when it became apparent that the fight would be long-continued that steps were taken to challenge the Lewis control of the union.

In this call Lewis is condemned in no uncertain terms. He is charged with the stealing of the election of 1926 through tactics that rival those of Philadelphia politicians. Indeed, in that election 10,000 more ballots were counted than there were taxpaying members of the union—a striking contrast to the usual 25 to 50 per cent poll. Moreover, Lewis is charged with the failure to organize West Virginia and with inactivity in resisting operators who repudiated the Jacksonville agreement. It is urged that he has failed to press the program of the union for nationalization of mines. Furthermore, he is termed a poor strategist for his action in bringing a settlement in 1922 which failed to include the coke regions; also for his withdrawal of Illinois and Indiana from the present struggle. Finally, no little attention is directed to his $12,000 salary. The slogan of "Lewis Must Go" has been adopted.

Needless to say, the Save the Union Committee and its left-wing supporter, the Pennsylvania and Ohio Miners' Relief Committee, are roundly denounced by the Lewis group as "disruptive and communistic." Delegates to the projected convention are threatened with expulsion from the union. Brophy sympathizers, however, claim that they have the solid backing of several hundred local unions and that they will be able to force the adoption of a new leadership having a more militant program. Specifically, they urge: (1) The repudiation of the Lewis leadership in the union; (2) the sending of "shock troops" into West Virginia; (3) mass-picketing among all striking groups, defying any injunctions that may be issued; (4) the pressing of an aggressive campaign for the nationalization of mines; and (5) the establishment of the Jacksonville scale, coupled with the six-hour day and the five-day week.

Whatever may be the outcome of the gathering of the Save the Union group, it seems probable that the United Mine Workers will on April 1 attempt again to make the strike nation-wide. Undoubtedly this will include another effort to capture the strongholds of West Virginia.

At this moment no solution for the coal problem is in sight. The possibility of government control seems remote both because of the political hold of West Virginia (which would be adversely affected by any national standard of wages or by any rational readjustment of freight rates) and because of the several Supreme Court decisions holding coal to be an intra-State business. Until election is past and until the court can be brought in touch with economic realities, government control holds out no possibilities. Government ownership is not mentioned in Washington, even by Senator Wheeler. It is unlikely to have a hearing on its merits. Consolidation seems likewise doomed to failure. The 7,000 mining companies do seem to be drawing together in regional groupings but only so that the competition between districts may be more bitterly contested. No substantial lowering of mine capacity through this channel is in sight. Moreover, it is improbable that mining will be specifically exempted from the provisions of the Sherman and Clayton acts.

What, then, will happen? Probably some compromise will in time be effected which will permit a certain portion of the union miners to return to work under union conditions. Several new mediation efforts have been started in recent weeks. Any probable settlement, of course, will leave unsolved the fundamental problems of the industry.

Meanwhile, as the country censures the Pennsylvania operators and miners who are locked in a death grip, the West Virginia and Kentucky mine-owners whose actions lie back of the present tragedy may count their profits from the 4,000,000 tons of coal a week which they ship into the Northern markets. They alone can afford to smile.

Mr. Warden Testifies

By LOWELL M. LIMPUS and MARTIN CODEL

TWO men face a Senate committee in a marble-lined room, jammed with tense, eager listeners: The one, thickset, with bushy eyebrows and leonine mane surmounting a face whose grim expression is strangely emphasized by almost cherubic features: John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America. The other, stocky, clear-skinned, with arrogant thin lips which belie the flabby features and with a suspicion of a double chin, withal smugly self-assured: W. G. Warden, chairman of the Board of Directors of the Pittsburgh Coal Company.

Convincingly, John L. Lewis paints a picture of Hell-in-Pennsylvania. His voice booms through the chamber. He smashes a huge fist on the green-topped table, as he hurls his charges at the Pittsburgh Coal Company and the lesser operators in the soft-coal fields, who united in breaking a wage contract with the miners' organization: the ill-fated Jacksonville agreement.

Fidgety and stammering, W. G. Warden denies the indictment and tries to explain. He stutters and calls for quantities of drinking water, under the grueling fire of his Senatorial inquisitors. He is not defiant but he is persistent in justifying the wage-scale abrogation. He makes it very clear that he is opposed to the union and to organized labor in general.

This wealthy associate of the Mellons is subjected to a withering fire of criticism from both sides of the committee table. A liberal Democrat and an ultra-conservative Republican vie with one another in denouncing the conditions they themselves saw on the properties of the Pittsburgh Coal Company. Burton K. Wheeler grills the witness for

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an explanation of his repudiation of the contract. Chairman Frank R. Gooding flays the witness for the brutality and degradation among the strike-breakers in his own camps. Warden's private coal and iron police suddenly prove to be more of a liability than an asset. Chairman Gooding says:

> It does seem with so many police officers visible all the time that if their mission was to preserve the peace and morals of the community, it ought not to have been much of a job for your company to exercise proper care in the selection of the men for that purpose. I have never seen or heard of a country where there were so many men with authority to enforce peace in the morals of a community.

Aroused to fervor by an acute realization of the injustices involved, Gooding, in spite of his record as an old-guard standpatter, comes charging to the defense of trade unionism and what he calls a living American wage. Wheeler continues the discussion:

> WHEELER: You do not believe in organized labor and in collective bargaining?
>
> WARDEN: No, I believe in dealing directly with the men.

And a little later:

> WHEELER: What you want is to have an organization among your men but you want to be the dictator of the organization, is not that it?
>
> WARDEN: Yes, as long as I am interested in the company and run it, I want to take care of them in the right way.
>
> WHEELER: In other words, you want to run your own men.
>
> WARDEN: Yes, I want to run my own business family.
>
> WHEELER: You want to run your own men and your own capital and your own labor the same as you run your machinery?
>
> WARDEN: Yes, and if I do not run it right, they better appoint somebody else as chairman.
>
> WHEELER: Well, we might not disagree upon that.
>
> WARDEN: Maybe our stockholders will not either.

And again:

> WHEELER: Regardless of whether Congress should pass any legislation to try and permit you to have a common selling agency [suggested as a possible means for relieving the fierce competition among operators which has depressed coal cost] you would still want to dictate what price you pay your men?
>
> WARDEN: Yes.
>
> WHEELER: You feel that you want to be the dictator in the coal business and make laboring men work for you?
>
> WARDEN: Only as to my own company. I think that is a natural desire and wish.

And once more:

> WHEELER: What you really believe in is a benevolent dictatorship?
>
> WARDEN: If it is efficient.
>
> WHEELER: You do not believe in the ideas of democracy at all?
>
> WARDEN: Not so far as the labor situation is concerned in your own company.
>
> WHEELER: Do you believe in it in government?
>
> WARDEN: In government dictation?
>
> WHEELER: No; do you believe in democracy in government? For instance, in the government of the United States, or do you believe in a benevolent dictatorship in that as well?
>
> WARDEN: Well, I believe in the present government generally. It suits me. I'm satisfied with the management we have here now without changing it.
>
> WHEELER: You believe in a democracy so far as politics are concerned but you do not believe in a democracy in industry. Is that the difference?
>
> WARDEN: There is a difference there.
>
> SENATOR COUZENS (interrupting): He believes in the Republican Party and not in the Democratic Party.
>
> WARDEN: No, that is not quite right. I'm talking about business.
>
> WHEELER: I will say that men of his views generally believe in the Republican Party.

It goes on for hours. Mr. Warden owns 16,000 shares of stock in his company and holds 8,000 more in trust. Secretary Mellon owns some stock, also. Mr. Warden does not know how much. He has no suggestions for the committee for a cure for the apparently hopeless economic situation. Time may cure conditions, he weakly suggests. He states flatly he does not believe in collective bargaining. He is going to run his own business. "I think that's a natural desire." He drinks and stutters and sticks to it. His grammar goes to pieces: "We were utterly impossible to pay. . . ."

But his self-sufficiency never wavers. He boasts of his "general business judgment." He is inclined to patronize those who have not "our degree of education." He admits he can respect people who have no money. They have a right to live.

Why then did the Pittsburgh Coal Company abrogate the Jacksonville agreement? Mr. Warden insists it was only an agreement with the union, which his lawyers told him he had a perfect right to break. All his directors agreed with him when he decided to end it, he says. He denies he was brought in to be chairman for the specific purpose of "breaking the union." First he testifies there was a vote—and then he changes his mind about that. His recollection was at fault. He just did it and told the board afterward about it. There was no written opinion about the legality of the contract, Senator Couzens discovers. Attorney Don A. Rose told him verbally that the company had a right to break it. It was only effective if the company decided to operate on a union basis. There was nothing in it saying he had to pay union wages in non-union mines.

He knows none of the provisions of the contract. He had not read it before he broke it. That causes gasps in the committee-room. He does not know that his company collected fines from the union men under the specifications of that very contract. His lawyer had not told him that.

The amazing revelations go on. Testimony brings out that the dictator of the coal-company policies does not know the meaning of the word "morally." He thinks it refers to the "morale" of his men. Patiently, Wheeler explains the difference to him and repeats the question about the moral obligation involved. Mr. Warden would have to let his attorney answer that. And he asks for more water.

So Mr. Warden, the biggest man in the soft-coal industry, had never read the Jacksonville contract. Attorney Oliver K. Eaton, of the United Mine Workers, reads it to him in the committee-room. Would he have been willing to break it had he known how the provisions were worded?

Mr. Warden draws himself up proudly.

"What we did speaks for itself, sir."

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Facing the Famine Line

By ANN WASHINGTON CRATON

FOR one year the miners in the bituminous coal-fields of western and central Pennsylvania and Ohio have been locked out, without jobs, while the mine-owners have been trying to starve them into accepting the open shop. The second year of the strike finds the strikers' ranks largely unbroken, despite the fact that many of the mines have reopened. Where they are operating, strike-breakers occupy the company houses.

The miners' families are living in rough shacks, popularly called "barracks," built by the union to house the strikers, who were evicted from the company houses. The United Mine Workers found it difficult, in a State where almost all land is company owned, to lease the land upon which to build the barracks. Consequently, these makeshift habitations are found scattered over a wide area on whatever land was obtainable, chiefly on marshes or hillsides, with every possible physical disadvantage. The United Mine Workers supplied the lumber and the miners built the houses. They are long, rambling, pine structures, housing often as many as a hundred families, subdivided into two- or three- or four-room sections. In general, the order and cleanliness is amazing, as the women, with curtains, with plants growing in tin cans, make a brave attempt at maintaining a standard of living, defying coal black, melting snow and mud. The kitchen stove supplies the only heat. In winter there was much suffering from the bitter cold, as the mountain wind could not be kept out of the cracks. Obtaining coal is a major problem for families living in the heart of the richest coal-fields in America. Where the mines have reopened, loaded coal cars stand on the sidings and the older boys swarm over them, throwing the coal off for the younger children to collect in buckets before the coal and iron police discover them. At night friendly union trainmen dump it off on the tracks. Around the mines the children dig in the slag for lumps of coal to help keep the fires burning. Small independent mines working under the Jacksonville agreement supply coal to some camps, despite efforts of State troopers and coal and iron police to prevent the trucks from going through.

There is nothing to eat in the kitchens, literally not one scrap of food, until the trucks carrying relief baskets come. "When we have relief, we eat; when we don't, we don't eat," is the laconic answer. The miners, forced into this lockout, after working irregularly for more than a year, had slim savings to fall back on. Local stores, faced with bankruptcy, have ceased extending credit. The few struggling cooperative stores in the mining districts, established with such pride by the progressives, have been unable to stand the drain upon their slender resources.

In the Allegheny Valley many of the strikers are South Slavs. They are a sturdy, healthy lot, otherwise they would not have survived the hardships of eleven months' privation with such fortitude. The early spring blizzards have wrought great havoc lately, and there is much sickness in the camps, including numberless cases of pneumonia, which resulted in one barracks in six deaths in two days. There is a great cry for medicines as well as a constant demand for soap. I happened to be in Mollenaur the day eleven children from the barracks were sent home, because they were too dirty, from a school notorious in the neighborhood for discrimination against strikers' children. The barracks felt it a disgrace and humiliation that union children should be considered too dirty to sit with scabs' children. Clothes lines flap day and night with children's clothes, while the mothers, carrying water in pails from a pump often as far as half a mile away, are constantly washing, in the superhuman battle against dirt and disease.

The miners have large families, often as many as six and eight children, and in any barracks it is not unusual to find more than a hundred children of pre-school age playing outdoors in the wet and mud. Most of them have severe colds; their noses run constantly; they have sores on their faces. Many of them have infected feet. Often they are shoeless, with their feet wrapped in rags; occasionally they flop around in an older brother's rubbers or galoshes. While their mothers talk they stand around, shy, listless, patient, unsmiling, with large, soft brown eyes and fair hair. All over the coal-fields one finds the same children, beautiful in spite of cold and hunger and sickness. Some of them still have the bright cheeks which are part of their Slavic inheritance. But if an epidemic strikes the camps before the spring sunshine kills the deadly winter germs, there will be many deaths of these unfortunate children, so undernourished and so weakened from disease.

The camps in the Allegheny Valley are within an hour's ride of Pittsburgh, and yet Pittsburgh, with all its medical and hospital resources, all its public-health facilities, does next to nothing to prevent infection and disease. Since the Senate investigation was commenced the social-service agencies have made more of an effort, and milk is now being distributed daily, free of charge, to some families in Allegheny County and elsewhere. The western Pennsylvania coal-fields center around Pittsburgh. Local trains, interurban cars, and buses provide fair service at an exorbitant rate. Families with children in hospitals have no funds for carfare to visit them. Men walk miles to the relief office in Pittsburgh to report on conditions in their communities. The strike area extending into central Pennsylvania and Ohio covers hundreds of miles. Mass meetings, mass picketing have been prohibited by union-smashing injunctions.

Strike strategy centers around the local unions, which can still conduct meetings. The unit of organization becomes the local union and as the United Mine Workers is an industrial union there is a local union for every mine, to which all workers in that mine belong. As the average mine employs from 400 to 500 men, there are almost as many families in every mining camp. Each local union has its relief committee, which is responsible for the distribution of relief. Relief given by the United Mine Workers has been extremely limited and it has been supplemented by the Pennsylvania and Ohio Miners' Relief Committee, with headquarters at 611 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, formed by the progressive rank-and-file miners. Today there are from 175 to 200 local unions receiving relief from the

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P and O Committee. The Emergency Committee for Miners' Relief, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, is collecting and forwarding funds to that part of the country.

By arrangement with local wholesalers, the P and O Committee buys in bulk such staples as flour, sugar, corn meal, rice, spaghetti, canned milk, canned tomatoes, herring, fat back, and, as often as possible, jelly or syrup or apple sauce for the children. There are constant appeals for such luxuries as salt, lard, and yeast, potatoes and coffee, but the relief funds are inadequate and only the bare essentials are provided. Wholesale shipments for each camp are distributed from the union hall, serving as a commissary, where the allotment is weighed, measured, and packed in three- and five-pound bags and evenly distributed to every family.

Every man, woman, and child in the coal-fields receiving P and O relief has become familiar with the issues of the strike through the medium of the P and O bags in which the relief is distributed. These famous bags have printed upon them in large, clear, black type the name and address of the P and O Committee and its fighting slogans: "Win the Strike," "Save the Union," "Mass Picketing," "Organize the Unorganized Miners," "Nationalize the Mines," "Defeat the Open Shop," "One National Agreement," "Solidarity." These bags have established contacts with the isolated camps where families live too far to come to the relief office in Pittsburgh. Relief for these families in central Pennsylvania and Ohio is shipped in carload quantities, each car containing enough food to supply 5,000 families at a cost of $4,000. Clothing is distributed in much the same way as food and is handled by the women's auxiliaries of the union. Women are playing an active and militant part in the strike.

Although it made the coal strike front-page news temporarily, the rank-and-file miners entertain no hopes from the results of the Senate investigation. The strike must go on. The union must be saved. Relief must continue to come in. In spite of nation-wide unemployment, money comes mostly in small sums under $20 collected in shops, mills, and factories, signed for on collection slips by the workers themselves, who are only able to spare quarters and half dollars and often nickels and dimes. The mail arrives from all over the United States and Canada. The Paving Cutters' Union of Tennat, Maine, sends $20; the workers in the Electric Shoe Repairing Shop in Niagara Falls collect $19.38; a farmers' club in Minnesota sends $45; a group of fishermen in Salmon Falls, British Columbia, contributes $17; the Lettish Educational Society in Astoria, Long Island, gives $15. So it goes. Letters are received in all languages, expressing solidarity with the striking miners. The miners, fighting to save their union, are fighting the battle for the American working class.

The McCoy Election Law

By CARLETON BEALS

Managua, Nicaragua, March 1

THE United States is pledged to two political and revolutionary groups in Nicaragua by the Stimson-Moncada agreement of May, 1927, to guarantee fair elections in October, 1928. To carry out the agreement General Frank R. McCoy, personal representative of Coolidge, a man with extensive experience in other American colonies and protectorates, has drawn up a Transitory Election Law, giving himself dictatorial powers. Thus far the attempt to get this far-reaching law adopted by the Nicaraguan Congress, as promised Stimson by Diaz, has been held up by the Chamorro bloc in the Chamber.* In the effort to get it passed, the United States has become involved in local politics, our officials have lost their neutral poise, and we may yet have to exile prominent persons—all in the name of "free elections."

Free and fair elections never have been held in Nicaragua. Nor will a marine election be free and fair. There is no proper basis for such elections. Nicaragua, throughout its independent history, has been divided into two bitterly antagonistic parties: Conservative and Liberal, the first centering in the beautiful lacustrine city of Granada, the other centering in Leon on the highway to the leading Pacific coast port. (The dirty and ugly town of Managua was chosen for the capital at a later date as compromise ground.) Granada is aristocratic, super-Catholic, landholding, and commercial. Leon is middle-class, anticlerical, proud of its culture and its schools. The two cities have all the innate hatred for each other of the Italian city-states. Too, they have been dominated, especially Granada, by a number of powerful ruling families, until recently patriarchal, feudal, wealthy. The names of the families Chamorro, Cuadra, Lacoyo, Sacasa, Pasos have long figured in politics. Thus parties in Nicaragua are divided, even more than along the lines of principles, along the lines of geography and perhaps race, for even before the Conquest (Spanish) the two localities were the centers of antagonistic indigenous groups—the Niquiranos and the Chorotegas.

The country is further divided geographically and racially east from west. The most populous region is along the Pacific—frequent cities, rich cultivation of sugar, coffee, tobacco, corn, and live stock, fairly adequate transportation. The greatest raw-product exportation is from the Atlantic coast—bananas, ore, hardwoods. Yet these regions, but two hundred miles apart, are divided by great mountains, jungles, and swamps. When President Zelaya in 1909 sent an army across country to put down the Bluefields revolt, it sank out of sight in the swamps. Between these two regions there is little intercourse, no railroad, no roads, only difficult prolonged travel on foot or down tropic, mosquito-infested streams. The Atlantic coast is obliged to import coffee from Brazil, sugar from Cuba, lard from New Orleans, though the country produces all these products in excess quantities. Too, its population is differentiated—Caribbean Negroes (about 9 per cent of the entire population of the country) are omnipresent on the East coast. More English than Spanish is spoken there. This region has suffered from carpet-bag government from the center,

* The McCoy electoral bill was definitely defeated in the Nicaraguan Congress on March 13.

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from whose politics it is practically aloof. The Atlantic coast enterprises, largely in the control of foreign companies, are semi-independent, are often allowed to appoint their own local officials, and often maintain the local police force. These companies are resentful, often with reason, of the Managua overlordship—in the person, usually, of some grafting Jefe of a department, who is merely interested in showing unlimited authority, lining his pockets, and quickly getting out of such fever-infected localities. Since the coast, with a population of 40,000 people out of 600,000, is obliged to provide 35 per cent of the national revenues and puts up more graft than all the rest of the country, it is not surprising that nearly all of these companies are playing politics and are involved in nearly every revolution. The Atlantic seaboard is the place par excellence for starting revolution. Managua is so distant, months are required before an army can be sent across.

A third factor which makes elections more or less an impossibility at the present time is the great illiteracy—over 70 per cent. This, coupled with remnants of indigenous tribal systems, as around Matagalpa and in the Segovias, makes modern voting methods a bit ludicrous.

Against the odds of centuries of political procedure not patterned after American electoral practices, of party bitterness and the Granada-Leon feud, here in this unknit, illiterate, and prostrate country, divided north and south, east and west, the United States is pledged to implant "fair elections" by armed force upon a people knowing nothing of the ballot. This procedure utterly ignores the realities of the Nicaraguan situation; ignores the factors of group control already existing; and the man who is put into power as a result of these elections will be left without prestige and with no capacity for remaining in office except with continued marine occupation. The State Department says that it plans to get out, leaving the Nicaraguan question theoretically settled for all time as a result of a year's drastic action in guaranteeing supposedly fair elections. There are either some hare-brained Utopians in the United States Government or somebody is playing blind-man's bluff with the American public.

The legal instrument for bringing the millennium to Nicaragua in one year is the McCoy election law. As a result of the Stimson agreement, President Diaz, on May 15, 1927, dutifully addressed President Coolidge requesting the United States to guarantee "fair, free, and impartial elections," to create an impartial non-partisan constabulary, and offered to secure the enactment of an adequate election law, the character of which was set forth in a full memorandum. President Coolidge replied to Diaz on June 10 expressing willingness to proceed. On August 26, 1927, the Nicaraguan Minister of Foreign Affairs notified Washington that his government accepted the appointment of McCoy to run the elections and would fulfil the conditions.

Nicaragua already has a constitution Made-in-America, and it already has an election law Made-in-America. At the insistence of our State Department, the Nicaraguan Government in 1922 invited Professor H. W. Dodds of Princeton to study the electoral system. He drafted a bill which was, in substance, enacted, and which governed the elections of 1924 (as lacking in validity as any Nicaraguan election). General McCoy, after consultation with Crowder, Hughes, Fletcher, White, and others, had the Solicitor of the State Department draft what is in substance the new Transitory Law now under fire,* giving American officials absolute powers in the coming elections.

I have outlined the various forces in Nicaragua—geographic, historic, social, economic—which bare their fangs at the McCoy election project. There are more immediate and tangible *bêtes noires*. There is the Sandino revolt. How can there be free elections when four important departments out of seventeen are in an uproar? What chance for free elections in the localities where the marines have driven the people out like cattle and burned their houses? And what prestige will the election have with the Sacasa émigrés crying for justice from the housetops to all the Latin-American world?

Lastly there is the opposition of Emiliano Chamorro, the "strong man of Nicaragua," the leader of the Conservative Party. This is the most immediately harassing of all. Chamorro was in Rome when the Stimson agreement was made. Chamorro, long our friend, feels that the United States deliberately beat him out of the 1924 elections when Solorzano came in. He is rancorous that none of the evidence he submitted to us of fraud in those elections was considered. Chamorro knows that the resident American officials are overtly, sometimes intensely, pro-Moncada. He has no great faith in American impartiality, but his highest desire is to have them play with him instead of with the Moncada Liberals. Also, in spite of his opposition, he has real respect for McCoy. Chamorro asked me, with a smile, "And this election law, now wouldn't it make McCoy a dictator?" Chamorro maintains that the law is unconstitutional (he didn't worry about the constitution when he seized the government in 1925), both as regards American presence on and control of the election boards and because the board, instead of Congress, will canvass the votes and certify the result. Chamorro asks: "Why wound the constitution so vitally in order to safeguard the constitution?"

"Supervise one election!" he exclaimed to me. "Why you will have to supervise at least four. If the Liberals come in, as the State Department plans, the Conservatives will never get back, and we will be hounded, jailed, our property stolen, our lives without guaranty."

Chamorro, with reason, points out that it is unfair to permit Moncada to run as candidate. If the most powerful man of the Liberal Party be permitted to run, why not Chamorro also? Moncada was likewise leader of an armed revolt against the constituted authority and would have overthrown the Diaz Government had not Stimson come upon the scene in the nick of time. Chamorro cites the case of Carias in Honduras. Carias, though receiving a majority of the votes in the elections and leading an insurrection against a President whom the United States had ceased to recognize, was not permitted to be provisional President or candidate for President. Chamorro insists that Moncada's case is identical, and that our interpretation of the Washington treaties is opportunistic and capricious.

The better to oppose us, Chamorro, since returning from Rome, has been building up his political fences, slightly broken down while his party has been under direct American influence. Today he controls the majority bloc in the Chamber, substantially the same bloc that enabled us to put the puppet Adolfo Diaz into the Presidency. We used this bloc to beat the Liberals, just as we used the

* The text of this law was printed in the International Relations Section of *The Nation* on February 22.

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Liberals to oust Chamorro, and now we expect it to be permanently subservient. But the Conservative bloc, like the Liberals, refuses to be shooed away from the spoils so easily. With Chamorro's return it promptly got out of hand. It refused to pass the McCoy election law; it passed one of its own that the Senate (of which Chamorro is now trying to gain control also) has thus far refused to pass. The pending Chamorro law provides for American supervision but no control. This same bloc in the Chamber has prevented the restoration of local Liberal judges and officials (promised to Moncada); it has prevented the reconstitution of its own membership (promised to Moncada); and it is holding up the entire American program, including a proposed loan and railway concession now being threshed over by the New York bankers. The loan is acutely needed; if Nicaragua has no money for these elaborate elections, McCoy is embarrassed, the constabulary under American officers is embarrassed, the road-building, undertaken to get American marines to the Sandino front, is embarrassed.

Chamorro is out to get support. He is log-rolling. His bloc is trying to push through an exorbitant appropriation to reward the Conservative troops that opposed Moncada—several hundred thousand dollars for a slush fund. Too, Chamorro learned something in the city of Mussolini and the Popes. The church gave him a Te Deum on his return. The Bishop of Granada has assailed the Liberals, calling them Bolsheviks and anti-Christs. The Secretary of Education, a right-hand man of Chamorro, is a fanatical Catholic. He is an intimate friend of the Archbishop; and, though the Government owes the teachers back salaries for twelve months, the Minister lavishly subsidizes private Catholic schools at the expense of the government schools, which are gradually closing. The Chamorro bloc has just given away valuable lands near the capital to be sold by the church to raise funds for a new cathedral. It has voted a special tax on coffee to provide funds for the same purpose.

American officials nimbly assure me that we will hold a fair election and get out. We are likely to get in deeper and deeper. We are multiplying the machinery of intervention: customs collectors, high commission, claims commission, financial experts, election overseers, marine officials, national-guard officials—a corps of high-paid representatives. I find little enthusiasm in these men to better the economic condition of the mass of Nicaraguan people, to promote education—things that would ultimately provide a basis for orderly political succession. Instead, great avidity to get to work on the claims from the last revolution—$16,000,000 has already been pegged up. If, according to past experiences, you are a New York banker, you can buy up claims at a fraction of their face value and have them recognized at face value plus interest; if you are an official in power your claims are largely recognized. But if you are a poor American or Nicaraguan, you may be informed, "New York now permits us to pay you 10 per cent on the dollar."

Nicaragua, today, after nearly eighteen years of American meddling, is in a truly miserable condition. The argument for or against intervention cannot be based on the benefits, actual or supposed, to a people; yet it is significant that today Nicaraguan cities are dilapidated, its public buildings run-down and dirty; it has fewer miles of railway than under Zelaya before we overthrew him in 1910; it has fewer schools. The North coast in Zelaya's time had over forty government schools; today it has not half a dozen. The flourishing traffic of Zelaya's day up and down that life artery, the San Juan River, and Lake Nicaragua, is today practically non-existent. The trip is now made at the risk of one's life. The post-office service, and in fact nearly every public service, is a joke. Nicaragua, under our paternal tutelage for so many years, is the most backward of all the Central American republics.

By all means, let us hold an election.

[The next article by Carleton Beals, describing marine atrocities, is entitled This Is War, Gentlemen!]

The Democrats and the Tariff in 1928

By J. N. AIKEN

THE Democratic Party talks about the tariff nowadays a great deal more than it acts. Leaders in Congress have much to say about making the tariff the issue in the next Presidential campaign, but they carefully refrain from any definition of the party program in precise terms. Senator Walsh, of Montana, insists with the utmost emphasis that he would write a plank into the next Democratic platform demanding tariff reduction in the interest of the farmer. Senator Reed, of Missouri, urges tariff revision downward as the best means of relieving agricultural distress. Other Democratic Congressmen call for an old-fashioned tariff campaign in 1928. But none of the would-be tariff reformers has yet ventured to sponsor a specific proposal for translating their tariff principles into law. On the contrary, they are so busy fighting with their Republican opponents over the revision of the internal-revenue laws that they have no time to consider any of the practical details of tariff reduction.

From the standpoint of strategy, the failure of the Democratic leaders to propose an application of their tariff precepts to the actual conditions of the day is a serious omission. On only one occasion has the tariff figured as an important issue in a Presidential campaign when the differences between the parties had not been previously threshed out in Congress. In 1908 the Democrats pushed forward an attack on the tariff as "the mother of trusts," without previous Congressional preparation. The first tariff campaign under President Cleveland followed close on the heels of an unsuccessful Democratic effort to enact the Mills bill, reducing all customs duties. The tariff campaign of 1892 came after the lines between the parties had been closely drawn in the contest over the McKinley law. The tariff issue came to the front again in the campaign of 1912, following the prolonged dispute over the reciprocity with Canada and over the carefully planned movement of the Democrats and the insurgents in Congress to enact a series of tariff-reform

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measures at the special session of 1911. No such preparatory measures have opened the way for an exploitation of the tariff issue in the campaign of 1928.

But if the federal income tax, authorized since the last big tariff campaign, has usurped the tariff's former position as chief revenue producer, the tariff continues to exercise an extremely important influence on the cost of living, the plight of the farmer, and our entire economic life. It has, therefore, high potential importance as an issue in any campaign in which economic questions are debated. But, whereas the question of tariff reduction used to be brought up whenever there was a surplus, it has never been mentioned in the debates in and out of Congress which have led to cuts in the personal and corporation taxes every two years since 1922.

Forty years ago, when Grover Cleveland led the Democratic Party in its most memorable tariff campaign, still another factor helped to focus attention on this issue. The customs duties had been raised to unprecedented levels in order to carry on the Civil War. It was then the general expectation that the increases would be temporary and that the tariff would revert to normal levels at the conclusion of hostilities. This expectation was not fulfilled. Sporadic efforts at tariff reduction were made, it is true. The law of 1872 ordered a horizontal cut of 10 per cent in all duties, but this measure was repealed in 1875. Again in 1883, a general revision of the tariff was undertaken, but the result of this effort was inconclusive. As a result, when Cleveland came on the scene twenty years after Appomattox, favored manufacturers were still enjoying the full protection of the war duties and overburdened consumers were still struggling under the load of taxation they had accepted in their determination to save the Union, a state of affairs which was producing on public opinion something of the effect that would have resulted in our own time from a failure to repeal the excess-profits levy and reduce the surtaxes at the end of the World War. Without this revulsion of public feeling, the Democrats would not have found it so easy to exploit the tariff issue in the campaigns of 1888 and 1892.

No influences of a comparable nature are at work today. The Fordney-McCumber tariff law was enacted deliberately and with no collateral promise of early revision. The only feature of the law which has not justified the expectations of its original sponsors is the Tariff Commission authorized to recommend increases or decreases of particular duties. Commissioner Costigan's arraignment of the commission in tendering his resignation from it has brought out its complete failure. This scandalous situation, with its direct reflection upon President Coolidge, and its revelation of the shortcomings of the whole tariff system, could be most profitably utilized by the Democrats if they had effective and sincere leadership in Congress. It could not, of course, be made a major issue, but a collateral one of extreme effectiveness since it bears directly upon the most important of our economic problems of today from the political point of view—the question of agricultural relief.

The farmer is forced to sell in a world market in which no tariff protection applies, and must buy in a domestic market from which foreign competition is excluded. He has naturally been demanding that he be more and more included in the protective system. He declares that the tariff duties on farm products thus far granted to him apply only to commodities of which he has no exportable surplus, and he rightly insists, President Coolidge to the contrary notwithstanding, that the tariff is both a direct and indirect tax on agriculture. The cotton growers of the South have long been aware of this exploitation, but the wheat and corn growers of the West avidly swallowed the Republican protection arguments and have only waked up to the true nature of our tariff policy in the long period of abnormally low farm prices. They are now saying openly that if they do not get something like the McNary-Haugen bill they will attack the whole protection system, demanding protection for all or protection for none.

It is not to be denied, of course, that since Cleveland's day the Democratic Party has been corroded by the development of great manufacturing industries in the South and at other points, but the fact remains that this very year the Democrats could make a tremendous issue by pointing out that tariff reduction offers a quicker and more practical method of redressing the farmer's grievances than does the modified McNary-Haugen bill. It involves the granting of no subsidies. It requires the creation of no cumbersome dumping machinery. Moreover, it is in accord with the traditional policy of moderation in tariff matters for which the Democratic Party has stood for more than a century. But up to the present time the Democrats have failed to make these points clear to the West or to develop a unified and positive tariff policy on which to base an appeal for Western support. One-half of the Democratic representatives in Congress have abandoned their principles to vote for the protectionist McNary-Haugen bill, while the other half have contented themselves with registering opposition to that measure and have made no effort to formulate a counter-proposal.

The strategy of the Democratic Party on the eve of the Presidential campaign of 1912 was far more effective. When the Sixty-second Congress met in special session in the spring of 1911, the Democrats passed President Taft's reciprocity measure, and then joined forces with the Republican insurgents to enact a bill putting a large number of articles which farmers buy on the free list, a bill revising the woolen schedules downward, and a third bill moderating the duties on manufactures of cotton goods. The agrarian regions were, of course, keenly interested in the farmers' free list, and inasmuch as farmers are regular purchasers of woolens and of cotton goods, their interest in the other two bills was by no means inconsiderable. Mr. Taft vetoed all of these measures except that for reciprocity. But despite the fact that they did not become law, they served to focus attention on the Democratic tariff policy and to illustrate in an impressive and definite manner what that policy might do for agriculture.

The Democrats do not this year control the House where tariff bills must originate. But they and the insurgents, who also favor some tariff reduction, control the Senate. It should not be difficult for them to get the issue to the front in such a manner as to clarify the Democratic position and attract national attention. Congressman Cordell Hull is doing excellent work in insisting on the tariff issue. Where are the other leaders? Are they sincere in their opposition to the tariff? Do they believe in the historic Democratic principles of tariff for revenue only? This is their time to show it. It is rightly charged that there is very little difference in principle on most issues between the Republicans and Democrats. On the tariff there is a great difference. Much will depend on the attitude the leaders take toward it in the coming campaign.

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The Government Must Act!

By FIORELLO H. LA GUARDIA

House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C., March 23

THE present coal strike is a battle of statistics against human life. It is a test between the theories of a new school of coal economics and everyday living conditions of men and women.

I conferred with miners of the union on strike, with non-union miners, as well as with the representatives of some of the largest coal companies. Assuming that the conditions described by the coal-mine companies are exactly as they state them, still I fail to find justification for the present low rate of wages.

According to the statements made to me by the mine-owners with whom I conferred, unless the government intervenes this strike is going to be a long and bitterly drawn-out affair, costly and disastrous. The owners justify their attitude on wage reduction by what they call sound economics. I have yet to see a case where figures could not be used to prove either side of the question. Figures and mental experts are always available for both sides of a controversy.

I will concede that the soft-coal industry is unstable, that there is keen competition, and that the capacity of the mines of the country is greater than the present needs for soft coal. All that being true, what the mine-owners are seeking to do is to take the cost of an unstable industry, of cutthroat competition, and of overproduction out of the wages of the mine-workers. To illustrate the mathematics of this new school of coal economics, let me give you the formula on which the present and future wages of the mine-workers are to be fixed: Our economists take the return on capital invested, plus profit, plus all overhead expenses, plus depletion, plus depreciation, plus transportation, add them together, subtract the total from the present competitive market price of coal, and the remainder is taken as the standard to determine the rate of pay of the workers. The actual cost of living and the bare necessaries of life of a miner are entirely disregarded and he is to bear all of the burdens of a demoralized industry and is doomed to work for starvation wages. On figuring the return on capital investment, interest is computed for 365 days of the year, while the miners are expected to live on a measly wage for only 160 out of the 365 days. When these coal economists find a way to make it unnecessary for a miner, his wife, and children to eat on the 200 days that the man does not work, they will justify their formula, but not until then.

Under the Jacksonville agreement the average earnings of a coal-miner approximate $1,200 a year. Under the present wage scale, which incidentally has been reduced three times since the breaking of the Jacksonville agreement, the highest earnings will range from $600 to $750 a year, and no family can live decently on that amount in this country.

The factors which have created the unstable conditions in the coal industry must necessarily be charged to the owners of the mines and in no way can the miners or the miners' union be held responsible. The cutthroat competition which prompts this organized and systematic campaign of wage reduction is entirely the fault of the operators themselves. The question of production is likewise due to the waste and bad business management of the coal industry.

Ninety per cent of mining coal is human labor. An industry that cannot pay its workers a decent living wage has no right to exist. Efficient operation, economic production, and stabilized prices would provide the mine-workers of this country with a proper wage scale, permitting them to live decently and happily.

Whether in Pennsylvania, Indiana, Ohio, or West Virginia the terrorism and brutality of mine-owners and their agents must cease. The custom of permitting mine-owners to uniform, equip, and arm their own police, maintain their own detention pens, and pass summary judgment on the workers is so contrary to the fundamentals of our laws that it becomes necessary for the federal Government to intervene and put a permanent stop to these outrageous conditions. The mine-owners have assumed an extraterritoriality which not even a sovereign State under our Constitution is granted. Sovereign States in our Union are subject to the limitations imposed by the Constitution. These mine-owners in their territory recognize no limitations.

Much has been said about the coal and iron police. I need not repeat it, but I simply want to state that there is nothing in the law under which they operate which gives these men the authority they assume. They wear military uniforms and Sam Brown belts, they are armed with automatic revolvers and clubs. They are paid by the mining company, they are commanded by the mining company, and they are under absolute orders from the mining company, ostensibly for the purpose of protecting property, and are responsible to no one else. I have ascertained—and it is a matter of daily and hourly occurrence—that they do not limit their activities to the protection of the mining property. They do not remain on the mining property, but they go out on the highways of the State and there they apprehend those men who have left the company and are indebted to the company. They exercise a brutality that I have never heard equaled in the United States or any other country, either now or in the past history of the world.

Ordinarily a labor dispute is so localized in one State that it is not the province of the federal government to intervene. In the case of the soft-coal strike, however, there are many compelling reasons which make either a House or Senatorial investigation imperative, to be followed by necessary governmental intervention. It is no longer a matter of adjustment between the workers and employers; it has become a national problem and must be treated accordingly.

Whether union workers or strike-breakers, it is a matter of national concern that men be enabled to live decently and enjoy the freedom which the Constitution of this country guarantees to them. It is a matter for Congressional investigation to probe the charge that strike-breakers are held in a system of peonage in the soft-coal regions in the various States. The statutes of the United States provide that

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> The holding of any person to service or labor under the system known as peonage is abolished and forever prohibited in any Territory or State of the United States;

and it is declared that any agreement made for services to liquidate any debt or for compulsory continued service is null and void. Another section of the United States laws, it is charged, has been violated:

> Whoever shall knowingly and willingly bring into the United States any person inveigled in any other country with intent to hold such person so inveigled in confinement or to any involuntary servitude shall be fined not more than $5,000 and imprisoned not more than five years.

A large number of Mexicans were actually brought to these coal mines, and only through the intervention of the Mexican consul were they released and sent back home. An offense against the federal laws has been committed which justifies federal investigation and intervention.

Here is another one: The strike-breakers are kept on mine territory. If they seek to leave, they are pursued by the coal and iron police beyond mine property, taken from the public highways, arrested and brought back, all in violation of Section 444 of Title 18 of the United States Code, which provides:

> Whoever holds, arrests, returns, or causes to be held, arrested, or returned, or in any manner aids in the arrest or return of any person to a condition of peonage shall be fined and imprisoned.

This is a daily occurrence in the coal districts which I visited. These private, uniformed, and armed armies of the mine-owners are daily doing this very thing, and when a local officer issues a warrant against any of these agents of the mine-owners the mine-owners simply refuse to produce them. That, I submit, is another reason justifying federal action.

While coal may not be an absolute necessity in the future it will be so for at least a generation. In the meantime, the present disgraceful conditions should not be permitted to continue. Investigation has followed investigation. Recommendation has piled upon recommendation and nothing has been done for the simple reason that the owners of coal properties are sufficiently powerful locally and nationally to prevent action. I firmly believe that ultimately the Government will have to step in and take possession of all natural resources, coal, oil, water, and gas. These natural resources should not be owned by a favored few to be exploited at the expense of the many. The control and operation of coal along with other natural resources by the Government would permit the mining only of such quantities as industry may require, the abolition of excessive profits, and the payment of decent wages. It is not to be expected that this major operation will be performed during the present session of Congress. The very persons all through the country who are now being exploited by coal barons, monopolistic oil companies, and the power trusts would be the first to succumb to propaganda that the "Government should be kept out of business," that such a solution is "socialistic," and that it would be contrary to the Constitution. But these monopolies are becoming more powerful, more brazen, more greedy, and more defiant of constitutional law when it stands in their way. It will not be long before the American people will realize that something is fundamentally wrong and they will then be less impressed by oil favoritism, coal "economics," and power-trust "constitutionality."

In the Driftway

THE most interesting consequence of prohibition which the Drifter has noted recently is that implied by the confession of the black-eye doctor of Chatham Square, New York City, that the Volstead law has virtually ruined his practice. This individual has long served his fellow-men by applying first salve and then a coat of paint to eyes discolored by—well, never mind how. After holidays he used to have twenty or thirty patients eager to have their black eyes repaired, but last St. Patrick's Day netted him just one. This certainly is a case of a worthy industry crushed by prohibition, or else the Irish in New York are losing their verve. There are not many black-eye doctors in the country and it would seem that so picturesque a calling should be kept alive somehow. The Drifter calls the opportunity to the attention of the General Education Board or the Guggenheim Foundation.

* * * * *

CHANGING customs have curious effects in many other fields. Take, for instance, the fine old American art of tobacco-juice spitting. When the Drifter was a boy he used to watch with eyes of bulging admiration while local champions and runners-up practiced this art. According to the Drifter's recollection some of the experts could hit a sawdust box ten or twelve feet away at least four shots out of five. Even more popular than a sawdust box was the open door of an old-fashioned heating stove in the hotel lobby or the railroad waiting-room. There was such a pretty sizzling sound when the shot landed. The Drifter used to try—with sad results—to project a stream from his mouth with the end of his tongue and the peculiar gurgling sound of the experts. The Drifter wasn't allowed to chew tobacco and so he hadn't the equipment necessary even for practice. But he came through to manhood with a healthy appreciation for this splendid old American craft.

* * * * *

LATTERLY he has seen few exponents of the art. In the cities of the East tobacco-chewing is so frowned upon that a new generation is growing up on nut sundaes and peanut brittle that never even saw a good spittoon sharpshooter. But in Pittsburgh the other day the Drifter was riding in a street-car when right in the middle of a block the conductor swung open the doors and aimed a stream at the aperture across the rear platform. The stream fell short—as do so many heroic attempts in this world—and landed on the running-board. "You're weak today," observed the Drifter. "Never mind; I'll make it next time," responded the conductor, nonchalantly resuming work on his quid. "That's a regular practice on our street-cars," explained the Drifter's guide. "Generally the conductors are pretty good at it."

* * * * *

WHICH reminds the Drifter of the passenger in a German railway coach who spat out the door just as the guard came hopping along the running-board. The guard got the full benefit of the discharge on his shirt front. Shaking a quivering fist at the careless passenger the guard shouted: "If one speck of that had gone on the running-board you would have been fined ten marks."

THE DRIFTER

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Correspondence

Exaggeration

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: "President Coolidge thinks unemployment greatly exaggerated," says the newspaper headline. After spending forty-seven consecutive days hanging about the gate of the Seattle Ford assembly plant in the hope of "getting on"—and after seeing the police being called upon to clear the street of hundreds of unemployed men vainly seeking employment—yes, it may be exaggerated, I'll admit, but I hate to be reminded of it.

Edmonds, Washington, March 15 J. C. BLAIR

Historical Researches

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Here is encouraging news from a Texas newspaper:

> According to a recent letter from Strasbourg, which is published in the *National Gazette* of Switzerland, the Socialist Party in Alsace is about to emigrate en masse to Texas, where one of their chiefs, the well-known Victor Considérant, has purchased a large quantity of land. The first departure of emigrants is to take place during the ensuing spring, and there is more than room enough in Texas for all.

I found it in Galveston *Journal*, February 2, 1855.

Sherman, Texas, March 8 ERNEST S. GREENE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the News from Washington column of the New York *Herald* for August 7, 1863, I ran across this little titbit:

> It is stated here, and upon the very best authority, that the surrender of the city of Mexico was made by the Roman Catholic clergy of Mexico to the clergy of the same denomination attached to the invading French army.

What a germ of Ku Klux propaganda!

New York, March 21 LEO S. GELBSTEIN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Fraser's letter from Singapore in your issue of March 7 refers to secret societies being forbidden among the Chinese there. Some years ago I picked up a copy of an ordinance in Singapore, published over the signature of the Governor of British North Borneo. It provides certain penalties which it is fair to assume exercise a decidedly deterrent effect, contrary to the widely accepted theory that the reason no Ku Klux Klan exists in the Orient is the scarcity of nightshirts. The ordinance reads, in part:

> 1. Every person who shall, after December 1 next, in any place in British North Borneo apply for or receive any money on behalf of any secret society, or issue any tickets of membership, or keep any book, account, or document, or who shall summon or direct any meeting or in any way whatever participate or assist in the direction or management of any secret society shall be liable to any or all of the following punishments: (1) Forfeiture of all property; (2) rigorous imprisonment for any period not exceeding fourteen years; (3) exposure in the stock for any period not exceeding three months; (4) banishment for life or for any shorter period.
>
> 2. Every person as aforesaid who shall attend any meeting of or be in possession of any ticket, account, or document belonging to or relating to any such society, or who shall participate in the proceedings of or contribute money to any such society shall be liable to rigorous imprisonment not exceeding two years, and to fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, and to banishment . . .

Montrose, California, March 11 R. R. HORNBECK

The Navy

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your editorial Our Mad Dogs of War does grave injustice to the navy and to that liberalism which you preeminently represent.

Your worthy end is not well served by means of such misunderstanding of the navy's psychology. Get next to it and you will find that international peace is sincerely desired by naval officers. The navy is built by Congress. Officers are frequently cross-examined by its committees. To say that Congress is duped by testimony biased by self-interest is absurd.

Your article is unjust to liberalism because it restricts its scope. It excludes naval officers as a class without discrimination. Before you assent to the pernicious doctrine that an officer "gives his opinion into the keeping of his commanding officer when he puts on the uniform," pause to consider whether by so doing you are not forcing upon him an iniquity greater than the imaginary one you condemn.

Camden, N. J., February 1 F. M. EARLE,
Naval Constructor, United States Navy

What Should Be Translated?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Several times during the past year I have had letters from translators in Russia, asking for the names of recent American novels likely to interest the Russian people. Recently I had the same request from two German translators, and now comes a letter from my Swedish translator, as follows: "We wish that you would send us the names of such of the younger radical writers in America as have not yet been introduced to us. I should like to receive their addresses, and would be thankful if you would express yourself as to the significance of their books. We do not want poetry or drama, but more especially novels."

I find that it takes a lot of time to bring the best books to mind, and always I find that I have overlooked some. It occurred to me that it might be an interesting exercise for your readers to suggest the names of the twenty best novels written from a radical or socially critical standpoint by Americans within the past ten years. I believe it would be possible to find translators and publishers for such a list of books in a dozen different countries. It would mean much to the writers of the books, and also to the public abroad.

Long Beach, California, March 1 UPTON SINCLAIR

Walt Whitman Again

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of December 14 Johnson Brigham explains Why Harlan Dismissed Walt Whitman. Mr. Brigham published his "Life of James Harlan" in 1913, forty-eight years after the dismissal. No doubt he relied on what official and other documents he could find. Volume III of Traubel's "With Walt Whitman in Camden" was not published until 1914. It includes reproductions of five pages of MSS notes made by Whitman on July 5 and 8, 1865, within a few days of the occurrence, going into all the details of the matter. On July 1, the day after the dismissal, J. Hubley Ashton, Assistant Attorney General, interviewed Mr. Harlan, who said Whitman was a "competent and faithful clerk" but that he "deserved punishment" for writing "Leaves of Grass," and added, "I will not have the author of that book in this department. . . . There is no need of any one's knowing either what Whitman was dismissed for nor the particulars of this conversation. It would

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be best for you and me to confine matters to ourselves." Mr. Ashton, however, said he would certainly tell Walt Whitman, as he thought he had a right to know what he was dismissed for. (*Op. cit.*, pp. 469-485.)

Regarding the statement in Mr. Brigham's letter that "Whitman's work was not commensurate with his salary," the same volume cites a notice of promotion dated May 11, 1865, after Whitman had been working four months as a clerk. Mr. O'Connor was in close touch with both Whitman and Mr. Ashton at the time, and in his "The Good Gray Poet," written soon afterwards, verifies this memorandum of Whitman's.

And as to comments on this matter by Whitman's biographers, I cannot find any of them who agree with Mr. Brigham, and I have examined fourteen of them.

Toronto, Canada, February 8 HENRY S. SAUNDERS

On the Relief Line

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have just come from the strike regions of districts two and five of the United Mine Workers of America.

Relief lines grow longer every day in the Pennsylvania mining camps as the small savings fade away. In the bitter wind they stand for hours, each carrying an empty sack, an old market basket, or a paper bag to receive the mite of beans, potatoes, flour, and sugar which must keep the family alive for the next week.

As they wait patiently they talk of the morning's experiences on the picket-line, the new scabs "incubated" at the mine, the strike-breakers who have promised to join the strikers as soon as assurance of relief is given them, the child tossing with fever nearby because the company doctor has refused to call, the fear that the union dole will not be given out next week.

Funds sent to the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, are being used to buy food in wholesale quantities to help supply biweekly shipments to about one hundred and seventy camps in Pennsylvania and Ohio. We are endeavoring to establish a fund to supply visiting doctors and nurses or to pay local physicians for calls on families unable to pay. We ask help.

New York, March 22 SUSANNA PAXTON,
Executive Secretary

Good News from Boston

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A Boston physician, Dr. Antoinette F. Konikow, was arrested on February 9, after giving a lecture in the short course on sex hygiene which it has been her custom to offer during the past six years to her women patients and their women friends. The technical charge against her was that of "exhibiting" contraceptive devices for which the maximum penalty in Massachusetts is $1,000 fine or five years' imprisonment.

Dr. Konikow was tried in the Municipal Court on March 1. She justly maintains that medical lectures are incomplete and confusing without illustrative exhibits and diagrams, especially in the case of harmful methods. Her defense was that she was not advertising devices or offering them for sale and so was not exhibiting within the meaning of the law. The judge upheld the defendant's contention. She was acquitted.

Owing to the extreme importance of establishing a favorable precedent in Massachusetts, it was necessary for the Emergency Committee, formed to defend Dr. Konikow, to incur far heavier expenses than those ordinarily incurred in the lower court. Contributions to meet these disbursements may be sent to me at 87 Robinwood Avenue, Jamaica Plain.

Jamaica Plain, Mass., March 10 MARY L. EAST

The Patriotic West

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Of course in New York it may be different. Out here in the Great Open Spaces the heart of America still beats true. We have faith in our government and in its measures of preparedness. As for those peace-at-any-price pacifists who put peace before justice and right they don't cut much ice out here. Of course we believe in peace. We know that our government will never engage in an unjust war, and so long as we are ready to fight no other country will want to fight against us. Peace through Preparedness: that's our motto. You ought to have heard Erskine R. Meyer's speech to the University of Colorado. In the words of our local paper, he "made a strong plea in the interest of patriotism and urged the faculty and student body to 'carry on this splendid spirit and keep it ever fresh and exalted.'" "Wars have their sad and tragic aspects," he said, "due to lack of preparedness," and he gave as an example the War of 1812. "When this war began there were less than 4,000 British effectives in Canada, and had we been able to conquer these when the war commenced Canada would today most likely be a part of the United States."

The American Legion is the backbone of our patriotic body. Its national commander declared in its name that the legion will "combat every move for internationalism" and foresees that Congress will answer his prayers for military preparedness.

It is unfortunately true that the local ministers are writing unpatriotic letters to Congressmen. Their business is to preach the Gospel and not to meddle in politics. Peace with patriotism: that's what we want.

Boulder, Colorado, February 22 J. R. E.

Contributors to This Issue

THE UNOFFICIAL SPOKESMAN is *The Nation's* Washington correspondent.

WALTON H. HAMILTON is professor of economics at the Robert Brookings Graduate School, Washington, D. C., and is coauthor with H. R. Wright of "The Care of Bituminous Coal."

COLSTON E. WARNE is on the faculty of the School of Business Administration at the University of Pittsburgh.

MARTIN CODEL and LOWELL M. LIMPUS are Washington newspapermen who have been covering the coal hearings.

ANN WASHINGTON CRATON is a member of the Workers International Relief Committee in Pittsburgh.

CARLETON BEALS, en route from Nicaragua to Mexico City, was not permitted to land at Guatemala, and is now proceeding to San Francisco. He is the only foreign correspondent to reach Sandino.

J. N. AIKEN is in the editorial department of the *Virginian Pilot*, of Norfolk, Virginia.

FIORELLO H. LA GUARDIA, Congressman from New York, made an independent visit to the coal-fields.

HARRY KEMP is an American poet and author of "Tramping on Life."

WILLIAM MACDONALD is author of "A New Constitution for a New America."

LOUIS R. GOTTSCHALK is a professor of history at the University of Chicago.

T. WINGATE TODD is in the school of medicine at Western Reserve University.

MAX RADIN is professor of law at the University of California.

ALICE BEAL PARSONS is the author of "Woman's Dilemma."

B. BLINISHTI formerly represented Albania at the League of Nations.

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Books, Music, Plays

Mediocrities

By HARRY KEMP

All night they drank of wine and wine;
All night they poured the glasses down
And they seemed victors half-divine
That boasted glory and renown;

The victims of the less-than-sin,
The martyrs of the not-quite-good—
All night they were what they had been
Had they but done the thing they would.

And when they saw this truth, yet dared
To face conjoint as forth they fared
The dreadful rift of dawn's first gray—
It reddened like the Judgment Day!

First Glance

The arms of grief are very strong,
His vigor swift, his passion long.
A woman tired in heart and limb
Should not lie down to rest with him.

WERE this brief poem not so good it would seem worse than it actually was. By which I mean that Clinch Calkins, in whose volume of "Poems" (Knopf: $2) it appears as the second piece, has come perilously near the edge of writing "woman's verse"—has in some cases really written it, but in most cases has avoided it by writing well. By which I mean that woman's verse in America today is the easiest of all verse to write and the most tiresome of all verse to read. Since Edna St. Vincent Millay in one of her aspects opened the vein of exiguity and fatigue we have had all that we can stand of the tired woman, the aching woman, the woman who takes as her symbol a barren twig holding itself starkly over the glassy surface, not any too well lighted by the dropping sun, of a stricken marsh. This woman uses no other experience than her pain, and since pain is a limited subject—some say it is an impossible one in art—she has had to refine upon it until now it furnishes only the sorriest of themes, and one too that in order to be used at all freshly must be used desperately and obscurely. We puzzle over her poems only to find in the end a slightly new variety of the old, old grief. It is almost as bad—not quite—as having to read the conventional chirp of the happy woman poet whose efforts, I believe, still grace the household magazines.

So that if I like Miss Calkins's book, as I do for the most part very much, it is in spite of the fact that it is one protracted gesture made in the face of a painful experience. That the gesture is stoical does not matter; the reference is to pain, and even a stiffened resolve to live pain down does not alter the circumstance that it is the thing being written about. In spite of such limitations Miss Calkins has produced an interesting and rememberable volume—one that lifts itself clearly out of the stream. It is a good while since lines of such definite quality, such rhythmical strength, such convincing ecstasy have been heard. They are lines which address themselves directly to the person in the reader. There is no introduction, no explanation.

Come, tired young women,
The first snow is falling.
It is the enfolding season;
Wrap yourselves away from the exhausting earth.

What will she do with seven fat years
Now that her seven lean years are over,
Whose throat is baked with the parching tears
She would not shed for a faithless lover?

Night was never made for those
Who have to lie alone.
Night was made to keep the flesh
From remembering the bone.

The night is storming in the trees,
The night is raging on the plain;
The night is raising high the seas
And raining in the hearts of men.

So that if Miss Calkins has overcome the handicap of her material it has been by giving it to us straight, without the vulgar refinements of her contemporaries. That in itself would distinguish her book, even if it were not distinguished by her unusual literary gifts.

MARK VAN DOREN

An Important Journal

The Journal of William Maclay. Introduction by Charles A. Beard. New York: Albert and Charles Boni. $4.

"THE Journal of William Maclay" is one of those human documents which, although perhaps not easily counted on the fingers of one hand, are nevertheless rare enough to form a small and unique class by themselves. Maclay was one of the first Senators from Pennsylvania, representing the Harrisburg region and drawing the short term, while Robert Morris, his colleague, drew the long term and represented the business aristocracy of Philadelphia. He had already had a considerable experience of public affairs when he was elected, having been a representative of the Penn family in their long controversy with the proprietary government of Pennsylvania, and later a member of the State Assembly and the Executive Council.

He entered the Senate with what Professor Beard, in his entertaining introduction to this attractive and much-needed edition of the journal, describes as "exalted notions of public duty and Senatorial obligations," only to be disillusioned with a rapidity which left no opportunity even for a climax. Hardly anything, apparently, within the Senate chamber or outside of it was to his mind. He admired Washington personally, but the famous debate over a title stirred his wrath, the Presidential levees and dinners bored him to extinction, and the adulation of those whom he dubs "royalists" moved him to exclaim, near the end of his term: "If there is treason in the wish I retract it, but would to God this same General Washington were in heaven! We would not then have him brought forward as the constant cover to every unconstitutional and irrepublican act." John Adams, the Vice-President, he despised, and abused and lampooned him in the journal, as he also did, in varying

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degree, many of his colleagues. From the first he was profoundly suspicious of Hamilton's financial proposals, especially the plan for funding the national debt, and fought the program in general and in particular as long as it remained on the calendar. There was, in fact, hardly any legislative measure of importance against which he did not find himself arrayed.

The trouble, of course, was that Maclay was a Republican, whereas the prevailing sentiment of the Senate and the clear bent of the Administration was Federalist, and tolerably high Federalist at that. Edgar S. Maclay, who published the journal in full for the first time in 1890, raises the question whether Maclay's pronounced views, and his stout championship of them in the face of the opposition, do not entitle him, rather than Jefferson, to be regarded as the true founder of the Republican or Democratic Party. Something is to be said for the contention, for Jefferson did not return from France until early in 1790, when the new federal government was well under way, and did not make his great influence felt in party matters until some time thereafter.

Maclay, however, was ill-fitted for leadership. He had a bad temper, saw everybody and everything at an angle, was homesick all the time he was in New York, and suffered from rheumatism and the prevailing methods of treating it. How he found time or energy, in his incessant occupation and physical distress, to set down the often extended accounts of debates and other happenings is a wonder, but although his journal, in view of the secrecy with which the Senate at first covered its proceedings, is a priceless record of what was said, it is nevertheless a document which the historian can use only with the greatest caution.

Beyond its political interest the journal gives a vivid picture of how some things were done in New York at the beginning of the great federal experiment. Here we may learn that Maclay thought the "School for Scandal," which he saw from the President's box, "an indecent representation before ladies of character and virtue"; that he feared the Constitution "will turn out the vilest of all traps that ever was set to ensnare the freedom of an unsuspecting people"; how Washington at table habitually drummed with his knife and fork; how two shillings an hour for a saddle-horse was spurned as an extravagance, and how a Mrs. Bell, whom he escorted to the Senate, affected "a bunch of bosom and bulk of cotton that never was warranted by any feminine appearance in nature." There are not many journals that can be read through with as much enjoyment from cover to cover.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

Not Robespierre

Robespierre's Rise and Fall. By G. Lenotre. Translated by Mrs. Rodolph Stawell. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $6.

IN the spring of 1789 a gentleman named Maximilien Robespierre came up to Paris from the provincial town of Arras to represent his bailiwick in the Estates General. He was young and anxious to get on in the world, but he had read the radical literature of his day and was a democrat. Consequently he was on the minority side in practically every question that came up. His sincerity, his devotion to the popular cause, his gradually developing dream of a republic in which patriotic and equality-loving citizens might some day be happy won for him the contempt of more practical men, who feigned to believe him a schemer, and the devotion of the Jacobin Club, who accepted him as "The Incorruptible." Eventually, the Jacobin Club came to predominate the government of France, and in the Jacobin Club no man was more powerful than Robespierre. He became a member of the committee that ruled France during the Terror. Because he was the best-loved man on that committee, all of its acts seemed to emanate from him. He became the personification of the Terror, and indeed, as a democrat fearful of reaction, did nothing to oppose it. His enemies, no less favorable to the Terror than he, took advantage of a revulsion of public opinion to overthrow him as the prime mover of the Terror, which he never had been. They guillotined him in the flesh and then assassinated his good character. Memoirs by Barère and Barras, and the thoroughly unscrupulous "trick played on the dead" from the pen of Courtois, purporting to be an inventory of his papers, became the chief sources of information upon him. And so, for five generations of historians, he remained a hypocritical puritan, a bloodthirsty maniac, a spleenic *ambitieux* who sacrificed thousands that stood in his way, until, more recently, Professor Mathiez and his Société des Etudes Robespierristes began publishing his papers and writing innumerable works upon this man, who, at worst, was a fanatic, and, at best, a dreamer of Utopia.

But our present author seems never to have heard of these works. He refers to only one of Professor Mathiez's dozens. Yet he uses Barras and Courtois freely, despite his own warning that they are unreliable. He is gullible; he believes exactly what he wants to believe, and he wants to believe the worst of Robespierre. He tells us some "vulgar details," for example, of the Fête of the Supreme Being (which he pretends was an apotheosis of Robespierre rather than the expression of a national longing for a popular religion that should be free from counter-revolutionary influence), and then naively adds (as if it were to his greater glory) that we have only one record of them. On further examination, this single record proves to be the testimony of aristocrats indirectly quoted. This is a glaring but not untypical example of M. Lenotre's method. As a result, we have a Robespierre that even Carlyle would have hesitated to believe in and of whose existence the conspirators on the eve of the 9th Thermidor would have been happy to convince some of their contemporaries.

LOUIS R. GOTTSCHALK

Negro Anatomy

The American Negro: A Study in Racial Crossing. By Melville J. Herskovits. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

IN this very readable and significant little volume there is no heavy-handed English such as we often get in scientific presentations, but instead a clearly expressed argument setting forth, though not pleading for, a new and more wholesome conception of the Negro problem. Unexpected phrases here and there demonstrate that the author is giving us the very practical results of his actual experience among the people of his study, an experience which goes far beyond the limitations of his anthropometric instruments.

It must of course be clearly understood that Mr. Herskovits cannot bombard the reader with the full battery of his observations. That must be reserved for technical scientific journals. Though samples alone can be displayed, almost before the reader can get fixed in his mind the erroneous assumption that low variability is constant among Negroes the author restores proportion in the reader's mind by definitely stating how he chose the traits to be studied and how many of them indicate the trend which he is demonstrating. It is precisely in such conservative handling of his problem that Mr. Herskovits is convincing and that he gives us an inkling of the breadth of his insight and the sanity of his judgments. I have read the book the more critically because I know in detail the full evidence at Mr. Herskovits's disposal and doubted the possibility of presenting in small compass a clear, compact consideration of the Negro question.

Amid the welter of peoples which dot the earth, here is one which, compounded out of elements as diverse as imagination could conjure, is nevertheless so confined by social conventions that it seems fast becoming one of the most homogeneous. Those who would learn the latest views and most probable interpretation of the trend of Negro physique must carefully study

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this little book. Its importance far transcends the number of its pages and its truth is all the clearer for its simply worded sentences.

T. WINGATE TODD

Of Sovereignty

The Sanctity of Law. By John W. Burgess. Ginn and Company. $3.

WHAT Professor Burgess calls the sanctity of law is really concerned with the source of political authority. That is not quite the same thing, except for untarnished Austinians. Professor Burgess is an Austinian in his somewhat unseasonable insistence on the unqualified nature of sovereignty, but he is very little of an Austinian in his rejection of power as the source of that sovereignty. It was such a source, he believes, up to the fall of the Roman Empire in the West, and it ceased to be when with Christianity a divine sanction of political authority was established.

In this, as in a number of other historical matters, he is mistaken. The history of European political thought has been largely rewritten in the last three or four decades. Professor Burgess prefers to ignore the results of this rewriting, and does so, I venture to think, inadvisedly. Since his combative thesis is consciously based on an elaborate account of historical developments, it is important that his history be sound. But his specific errors, though often grave enough, are matters of detail. The important thing is what seems to be the thesis itself.

The thesis is that, after Renaissance, Reformation, and Revolution had weakened and almost destroyed the concept that sovereignty was derived from God, a new sanction was being evolved and was becoming the basis of certain modern European units, characterized as real national states. Of these the most important were Germany and Austria-Hungary, which either had become or were in a fair way of becoming nearly perfect examples of what national states should be. They fulfilled all the requirements of geographic units supporting economic and political units. Their leaders were vigorous and honest men, competent and eager to act as the responsible instruments of a law, sanctioned and justified by the loftiest purposes.

To be sure, Germany was only one of several countries which, carrying out "the intent of history," were bringing into full actuality the really national units that Europe was by nature intended to have—eight, I think, they are. But Germany was much the most successful of them. It was "that great national union of middle Europe which, either as a whole or in its parts, has borne the burden and done the work and reaped the glory of the civilization and culture of Europe and of the world, in large—if not largest—part."

Under these circumstances one wonders whether Professor Burgess regards the outcome of the World War, rather than the war itself, as a world disaster. He certainly holds the crazy-quilt pattern which post-war Europe presents to be a political retrogression. But his gloomy outlook is mitigated by a hope that "conceivably" the situation might be worked into something better and that "the United States of America may at some future day regard it as its own great mission to perfect a real world unity of genuine national states." Foreigners will read this with surprise and some resentment, and a great many Americans to whom the present is less dismal will find the future less alluring.

The weakness of his thesis is of course not the fact that Germany may not have been so important or the United States as loftily predestined as he supposes. Whether he applies his political theory well or ill, the theory itself is one which he has consistently maintained in all his writings. It is based on two things, the unqualifiable and absolute character of sovereignty—however sanctioned—and the exclusive necessity of a geographical and economic unity to constitute a nation.

One may say that this is an interesting conceptual scheme; but it is surely no more. If the term sovereignty is an idea in the mind of God we can understand its atomic character, but if it is a device to secure certain practical and human results it is not easy to see why there should not be all degrees of sovereignty from standard full strength to a 3 per cent solution. A great many modern thinkers have managed to do very well without the concept of sovereignty at all, and one might well wish that, if it is retained, it should be divested of those very associations which make Professor Burgess fall down and worship it.

Are there really eight geographical units in Europe—Europe, which itself is separated from Asia only by a series of low hills? Italy, for example, has the Alps which Cicero declared to be created by nature to keep out the barbarians, and Italy has been swept by military invasions from the earliest times to the most modern, just as it has been a constant goal and starting-point for the commerce of ideas, movements, and wares.

I cannot refrain from calling attention to the astounding character of pages 308-314, recounting what the author considers "pertinent and significant experiences." It contains a suggestion that Mr. Wilson, a Southern Democrat, forced us into a war with Germany in revenge for the action of the Germans of Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee in taking sides against the Confederacy and in thus causing the loss of the war to the South. It is a new notion. I do not think Professor Burgess should be very proud of it.

MAX RADIN

Not in Our Stars

We Sing Diana. By Wanda Fraiken Neff. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.

IT was on the boards that someone should attack our quaint habit of segregating girls in colleges during those years when their normal emotional development especially requires free and natural association with men. Mrs. Neff's attack loses force because in addition to singing Diana she is writing a novel whose particular circumstances and incidents seem to be dictated by some inner compulsion, in spite of the fact that they happen rather disastrously to overemphasize her argument.

Nora, the heroine, is represented as being more interested in men and their activities than in the petty artifices with which women pass their time; she finds herself trapped in a female labyrinth, and, owing to adverse conditions, never frees herself from it for more than a few weeks at a time. At the age of thirteen she is adopted by an ecclesiastical spinster whose house is visited only by women and clergymen; she leaves this feminine cage to go to a woman's college; and as she chooses an academic career, the rest of her life, with the exception of a year at a New York coeducational university, where she seems to have met no men, is spent with women. Yet from the youthful days when she hoped prayerfully that Stanley Morton would speak to her until, at the end of the book, she definitely accepts her unwedded fate and adopts a baby, she is in continual revolt against this condition.

The book assumes that Nora's starved emotional life is due to circumstances outside herself, and its energy is directed to condemning them. It is therefore with some surprise that we remember she went to public school in an average Middle Western town. In such a school the number of girls and boys is about equal. School commonly begins at eight or nine o'clock and continues until two, three, or four. The greater part of Nora's day was therefore spent in close contiguity to girls and boys, rather than in the cloistral seclusion of Cordelia Tait's neat house. Since no single friendship with a boy is recorded during five or six such years we must conclude that some idiosyncrasy of her own was to blame for this far from average

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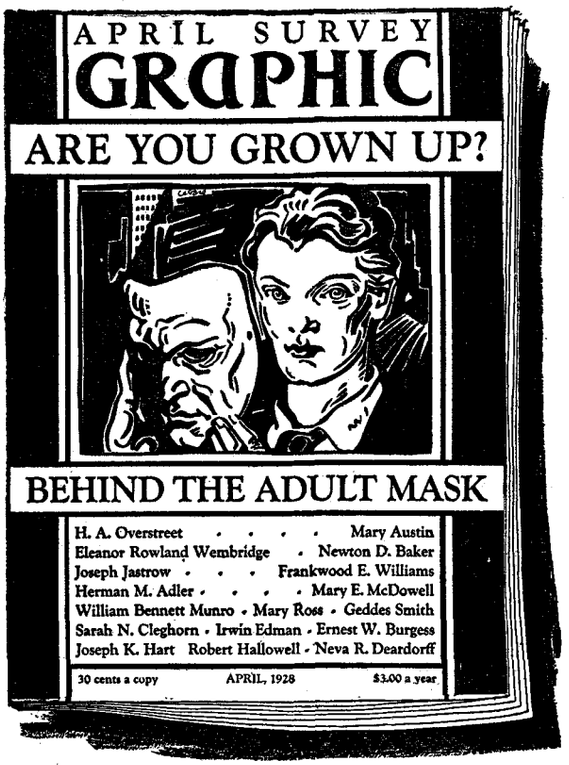
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experience; it seems sufficiently evident that her failure to bring boys romping into Cordelia's house was inherent in herself.

A psychologist would, I think, find the circumstances of her one love affair illuminating. She was thirty-two and the man a chance acquaintance suffering with heart disease. Nora discovered almost simultaneously that she loved him and that he was about to die. They took a house together and had two beautiful weeks before his death, after which Nora returned to America wrung and emancipated. She had had her love affair. It would always be with her as a memory, a sword and a buckler against her spinsterhood. In future she could give her mind without qualms to the great work of reforming her college.

Nora is a likable person; but it seems to me also significant that she is portrayed as an extremely critical person who, as girl and woman, clearly observed everyone's failings. In her girlhood these failings belonged to the members of the Altar Guild, who couldn't contrive matrimony, and to Della Schuster's mother, who contrived it too easily. In her post-college years they belonged to the foolish virgin who went in for labor, to the equally foolish virgin who went in for pacifism, and to the poor neurotic whose incipient insanity gives us the most vigorously written and most promising pages of the book. Nora sees everyone's foolishness and passes by all the silly little goals of her friends, to that really important piece of work, "England on the Eve of Industrial Revolution." This critical turn of mind perhaps accounted, even more convincingly than her four cloistered college years, for the loneliness of her life and for her inability to find men in any scene.

The book is sincere and covers large panoramas of human experience with that easy superiority to which we are becoming accustomed. Its writing is kin to its matter. It reaches to no felicities, perceives no subtleties, and, attempting little, sounds much more professional and competent than many first literary ventures.

ALICE BEAL PARSONS

Books in Brief

Later Greek Sculpture. By A. W. Lawrence. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $7.50.

An attempt to clear up the intricacies of the development and influence of Hellenistic sculpture in the West and East. Mr. Lawrence very sensibly treats Hellenistic art not as the decadence of the Periclean ideal but as the spontaneous expression of a changing and more complex society. There are an exhaustive appendix of all important sculpture and 112 plates.

Social Problems of the Family. By Ernest R. Groves. J. B. Lippincott Company. $2.50.

In his discussion of the family Mr. Groves occupies a happy middle ground between the extremists who insist on conserving the past and the other extremists who seem to seek to demolish even the present. He holds that through a study of the social problems of the family we may be able to conserve the best elements of family life, while eliminating many of the undesirable features. He is particularly vigorous in his insistence that parents must become educated to fill their position adequately, and to this end he advocates a widespread knowledge of child psychology.

Art in Greece. By A. De Ridder and W. Deonna. The History of Civilization Series. Alfred A. Knopf. $6.

To those to whom Greek art means something quite different than the monotonous plaster casts lining the entrance halls of the Metropolitan Museum this volume offers a new and refreshing approach. It is a commonplace that the most beautiful examples of Greek art must forever remain a mysterious perfection to us; in sculpture only a single authentic statue (and

"It seems to me the first book on the military side of the war of permanent importance."—*Don Russell in The Chicago Evening Post.*

REPUTATIONS:
TEN YEARS AFTER
By Captain B. H. LIDDELL HART

CONTENTS

MARSHAL JOFFRE
The Modern Delphic Oracle
ERICH VON FALKENHAYN
The Extravagance of Prudence
MARSHAL GALLIENI
The Real Victor of the Marne
HAIG OF BEMERSYDE
The Essence of Britain
FERDINAND FOCH
The Symbol of the Victorious Will
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The Robot Napoleon
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that one of Praxiteles's least accounted works) has survived. We are apt, therefore, to form our judgment of Greek art on the extant Roman copies, those cold, mathematically rigid copies of Roman copies of Greek copies of famous originals which have been drained of all the marvelous refinements. One is grateful, then, that these authors base their speculation on the modest, though faithful, documents of lesser-known contemporary sculptors, vase painters, and workers in the minor arts rather than on the replicas of celebrated works modeled centuries later in a foreign land and spirit.

The Anti-Slavery Movement in England. A Study in English Humanitarianism. By Frank J. Klingberg. Yale University Press.

Professor Klingberg has made an important addition to the literature of a subject which thus far has received more attention on its American than on its British side. Beginning about 1770, he traces the growth of anti-slavery opinion in England, the great fight over the abolition of the slave trade, both British and general, the rise and decline of parliamentary and public interest in gradual emancipation, and, finally, the achievement of emancipation itself. Throughout the book the agitation against slavery is linked with the general humanitarian movement which gave England parliamentary and poor-law reform, somewhat humanized prisons and prison discipline, began an improved structure of labor legislation, and stimulated missionary zeal. Into the wider ramifications of the subject, economic as well as political, the author does not go, a number of such topics of imperial significance being reserved for later treatment.

Documents of Russian History, 1914-1917. Edited by Frank A. Golder. The Century Company. $4.

This volume presents translations of diary extracts, newspaper clippings, speeches, official documents, and letters concerning the fall of the Czarist Government, the Kerensky regime, and the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks. The textual apparatus is sparse, simple, and lucid. An appendix containing portions from the Czar's diary kept just before and after his abdication is of unusual human interest. It contains just one important political statement: "Kerensky is to be Prime Minister. . . . This man is certainly in the right place at the present moment: the more power he has the better."

Mussolini, the Man of Destiny. By V. E. De Fiori. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.

Absurd rhetoric and unsubstantiated statements by another faithful castor-oil expert who writes adoringly of il Duce.

Chopin. By Henri Bidou. Translated from the French by Catherine Alison Phillips. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

The essentials of the composer's life are made the framework for histories, descriptions, and discussions of his various compositions. The narrative portions are engrossing.

Music

"Œdipus Rex"

NOW that "Œdipus Rex" has come and gone and with it its composer, Igor Stravinsky, the curtain may be said to have rung upon another decade of modernism. For "Œdipus Rex" is the last flickering end of a once mighty promise. In it Stravinsky has again turned his back upon his heritage, Tartar Russia. And this time the desertion seems final. There is a feeble reminder of race memory in the Chinese use of the drums to heighten and foreshadow dramatic action, first as an accompaniment to the chorus and later as a link in the action itself. But for the rest, this "opera-oratorio" is as mixed

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and uncertain in the content and style as its name implies. Out of Sophocles by Jean Cocteau, one of the "Six," the text is unimpressive and none the more so for being sung in Latin. Why Stravinsky desired this translation is difficult to surmise, as the result is merely to make one cling rather closely to one's program notes. The work is divided into two parts and was given in its original ballet form when first produced in Paris last May by Diaghileff's Ballet Russe. As given here in concert form by the Boston Symphony under Serge Koussevitzky it had the assistance of the Harvard Glee Club for the chorus, of Paul Leyssac for the role of le Speaker, and of four singers: Tudor Davies (Œdipus); Margarete Matzenauer (Jocasta); Rulon Y. Robinson (the Shepherd); and Fraser Gange, who did triple duty as Creon, Tiresias, and the Messenger.

In spite of this mighty array of talent the work fell flat. There was no clear outline of the conception as a whole, because there was no unity of style as a composition and no cumulative horror in the music itself. The chorus alternated between barbaric shouts and Handelian suavity; the airs between classic formalism and modern experimentalism; while Jocasta's aria was a mixture of both, sounding like a neo-Russian melody just off key. The only feeling of inexorable fate—and that in spite of its neo-Russianism—lay in the majestic exposition by Mme Matzenauer. Not only was her voice rich and round but, excellent musician that she is, her role held further illusion by being sung without the printed score. Mr. Gange, too, sang with great intelligence, and Mr. Leyssac read clearly and well. Otherwise, there were too often long stretches of just notes. The Glee Club sang with spirit, but, as someone remarked facetiously, "it seemed to root for everybody." Alas! One might in sober truth say the same of Stravinsky himself.

And so the fight is ended—the goodly fight that began some seven years ago; for "Œdipus Rex" is frankly retrogressive, proclaiming those very elegancies which Stravinsky himself was the first to strip off in his elemental "Sacre du Printemps." Nor are there any other composers to take his place—any, that is, of his generation. Bartok is a good craftsman, and no more. His colleague, Zoltan Kodaly, whose orchestral suite, "Hari Janos," still carries on the folk spirit which Bartok abandoned, made a hit, it is true. But neither in this nor in his "Serenade" for two violins and viola, also heard here this year, does one get anything more substantial than a charming fancy and a very clever use of instruments; while with neither could his "Psalmus Hungaricus" compare. Coming to the Spaniards, De Falla's ballet, "El Amor Brujo," was good theater music, distinguished mainly by the always great conducting of Toscanini and the rarely fine singing of Sophie Braslau, who also showed her mettle by singing her tricky solo from memory. Flying northwards, we find Sibelius's First Symphony standing out like one of his native pines in lonely beauty; but then, Sibelius belongs not to one age but to all.

Beauty, indeed, is what the composers of this past decade have been most afraid of, listening rather to the noises without than the raptures within. Two of the younger men, however, have begun to acknowledge her—Paul Hindemith and Roger Huntington Sessions. Hindemith, in the six songs from his cycle, "Das Marienleben," substituted spirit for animal spirits, for which part credit, one suspects, must be given to their interpreter, Greta Torpadie. As for Sessions, the first of his two Chorale Preludes for organ, with its austere but fine inwardness of feeling, would be enough to set him apart from his American fellows. For the rest, there has been nothing perhaps so strangely new and beautiful as Gesualdo's madrigal, "To m'uccidi," of some three hundred years ago. While in comparison with the dry experimentation and even nonsense that has been forced upon us one is almost grateful to the Metropolitan for giving us Puccini's "La Rondine," with its harmless and diverting formulas, as a "novelty," if only for the exquisite vision of former Metropolitan glories evoked by Lucrezia Bori. A rare artist whose even rarer personality remains always fresh and new!

HENRIETTA STRAUS

Drama

Mr. Shakespeare's Latest

THOSE who have been following the work of the promising young playwright William Shakespeare will be much interested in the production of his new play, "Henry V," which Walter Hampden is offering at the Hampden Theater. Mr. Shakespeare has tried his 'prentice hand upon various types of dramatic entertainment, but during the last few years he has devoted himself particularly to historical plays of the type which first brought him conspicuously before the eyes of critics, and hence the temptation to compare the new work with the first and second parts of "Henry IV," which immediately preceded it, is irresistible. Nor can it be questioned, even by those who most warmly admire the talents of the author, that the comparison will not be generally favorable to the new work.

Few will deny that Sir John Falstaff is the most interesting character whom Shakespeare has created, and yet he is not allowed to appear at all in the present play, and his companions Bardolph and Pistol and Nym, while amusing enough in their merely clownish way, can by no means make up for his absence. They are mere zanies and obviously contemptible, but he was spiritually large enough to balance his philosophy against that of the other protagonists, and certain of his speeches, like that which contained the much-applauded question "who hath honor?," rose to a height which constituted him a genuine comic challenge to the heroic characters of the play. The presence of mere common sense, always around the corner and ready to speak through his lips, served to throw the towering sentiments of the other characters into a sort of perspective and gave to the plays in which he appeared a kind of depth which "Henry V" entirely lacks. Without him

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to offer his pungent criticisms and without Hotspur to carry the romantic chivalry of the other characters to its *reductio ad absurdum* the whole piece seems almost naively heroic.

No one, of course, ever accused Mr. Shakespeare of belonging to the "debunking" school of historians. He takes his history quite uncritically and he always accepts the statements of public men at their face value. His hero hates wars (except, of course, just ones like that upon which he happens at the moment to be engaged) and, with the exception of a few traitors, all of his noblemen think only of the common weal. Somewhere in the latter part of the present play there is a long soliloquy in the course of which Henry utters various sonorous commonplaces about the emptiness of rank and the mere humanity of the great, but that is mere talk on Mr. Shakespeare's part. There really is, to his mind, a divinity which doth hedge a king and titled people are not made of common clay. One of our most elegant critics, Sir Philip Sydney, has said that it is the business of the poet to recount events, not as they were but as they ought to have been, and Mr. Shakespeare is evidently of the same opinion. His people are as noble as perfection would have them and England as great as he would like her to be. I should not like to brand "Henry V" as mere patriotic propaganda and to do so would be, no doubt, to render less than justice to Mr. Shakespeare's sincerity, but it can hardly be denied that such plays certainly tend to encourage that insular self-satisfaction which many foreigners have noted as characteristic of the English. Not only does he give us his variant of the old saying that one Englishman can beat seven Frenchmen, but he even solemnly asks us to believe that at Agincourt ten thousand of the enemy were slain and only twenty-five of our own men lost. God, to be sure, is given some credit for this miracle, but God of course always fights on the English side.

Yet, for all, I would not have it understood that my confidence in our most promising young dramatist is in any way shaken. Though "Henry V" is not as good as "Henry IV" its naively heroic spirit is rhetorically effective and it has passages of gorgeous rant which have not been equaled in their kind by anyone except their author since the days when Marlowe first taught our writers the trick. There are signs, too, that Mr. Shakespeare has solider stuff in him, and if I utter a reproach it is only because I would not have him content with such easy victories as this. There are other books beside Holinshed's "Chronicles" and there are stories which would give greater scope to his imagination than those furnished by recent history. Before now he has made one or two excursions into the rich field of romance furnished by those Italian writers who have had so much influence upon our literary revival, and he might very profitably do so again. Mr. Shakespeare is not so very young in years, but he is maturing slowly and we expect from him much better plays than that which he has just given.

As for the production of "Henry V," it is somewhat uneven, but on the whole satisfactory enough in a generally conventional fashion. The prologues, unusually important in this play, are spoken in a somewhat namby-pamby fashion which robs them of their effectiveness, and Mr. Hampden is rather too gravely mature to give an ideal representation of the fiery young monarch. The direction is good, however, and the whole production is satisfactory even if not the occasion for any great enthusiasm.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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International Relations Section

Albania

By B. BLINISHTI

DURING five centuries of Turkish domination—until its establishment, in 1912, as an independent state—Albania was closed to the outside world. The sultans wanted this region, peculiarly susceptible to Western influence, to remain in isolation and ignorance. But since the World War Western technical experts, exploring the country, have found its soil and subsoil rich, capable of a great economic development. These economic potentialities are in large part the motivation of Italy's recent policy and reveal the meaning of Albania's independence for the whole of Europe.

Albania extends 200 miles along the Adriatic and its maximum width is about 85 miles; its area is 11,000 square miles, with a population of 850,000. Its size and the richness of its soil would permit Albania to accommodate another four or five million people if the territory were properly developed. Albania is a country of mountains, but includes vast fertile plains and great plateaus suitable for pasturage. The people are frugal, active, and adaptable.

The succession of wars has led many Albanians to emigrate to Turkey, Rumania, Greece, Egypt, and the United States, where they have become a patriotic and progressive element of the population.

The plains of Albania are very fertile, but the methods of cultivation are old. It is estimated that one-tenth of the land is under cultivation; the rest is barren. Great landowners still dominate the country. Certain rich families control most of the tillable land and farm it out to tenants, the owner claiming two-thirds of the crop. The two most important products are olives and tobacco. Wheat, corn, barley, and hay are also grown. Olives dominate in the center and the south of Albania and the tobacco is at its best near Scutari and Elbassan, being used more and more for the manufacture of Egyptian cigarettes. For most products the chief market is Italy. Forests of beech, pine, fir, elm, sycamore, walnut, chestnut constitute Albania's greatest wealth. Large tracts are owned by the state, but grazing and burning have destroyed thousands of acres of forest land, and there has been no reforestation. The region of the river Mati—twelve or fifteen miles from the sea—could be developed into a great industrial forestry region. There are some 26,000 acres of oak woodland there. The forest of Diviaka on the coast between Durazzo and Volona, consisting of pine, which gives 70 per cent of resin, is also important.

Cattle-raising methods are behind the times. The country has excellent pasturage for goats and sheep, and in the north hogs are raised. Albania could become a great wool-producing country. Fishing is an important source of wealth for Albanians but the industry has never been properly organized.

Some 800 square miles of marsh lands along the coast would, if drained, become extraordinarily fertile. Professor Albert Calmes, in a report made to the League of Nations, estimated that it would cost 50,000,000 francs to undertake this work, but that "the land thus recovered from the marshes and the lakes would be worth 172,000,000 francs—more than three times the cost of the work." This territory could be utilized for the cultivation of cotton and sugar cane.

Albania has many rivers, rising in the mountains. The Arsen could develop about 5,000 horse-power; the Drin from 8,000 to 10,000 horse-power; the Devoli from 20,000 to 25,000 horse-power. It is estimated that the utilization of these three rivers would cost about 15,000,000 francs gold.

Albania's mineral resources have never been carefully surveyed, although there are indications that the country possesses great mineral wealth. The mountain of Griba and the village of Mamelia, west and northwest of Tepeleni on the left bank of the river Vjosa, resemble the iron deposits of Lorraine and Luxemburg. Close to the sea, with the river Vjosa available for transportation, these mines have great possibilities. Mamelia coal, occurring at a depth of two meters, was used for the Italian army and navy during the Italian occupation in the Great War. Analysis has shown the most satisfying results. This section of Albanian territory may become an important industrial center. Lignite coal, extremely rich in volatile substance, is also found south of Koritza. Lignite deposits south of Tirana seem equally rich.

Traces of copper have been found near the village of Narel in the district of Puca. The Austrians began to exploit these beds during their occupation from 1916 to 1918. Other copper mines occur at Peroj, in a heavily wooded region close to the navigable river Drin, and south of Koritza, between the villages of Rehova and Bithgugi. Two kilometers south of Pogradec, at Memelishto, chrome iron is found.

The bituminous mine of Selenitza, ten miles east of Valona, has been exploited since ancient times. It formerly belonged to a French company and the product is used largely in paving the streets of Paris; but two years ago it was transferred to an Italian corporation.

At Mali Cajes, near Scutari, there is arsenic. Pyrite is found at Gumina, and asbestos near Koritza at Dishnitza, at Voskopoja, and also near Scutari. At Dibra, near the Yugoslav frontier, iron, chrome, sulphur, and sulphate of aluminum are found, but their value is not known.

The laws of Albania give to the state ownership of all mineral properties in the country. The state may, accordingly, exploit these resources itself or grant concessions for operating them on a one-third royalty. Only the bituminous mines at Selenitza have so far been conceded.

Many companies have since 1921 asked the Albanian Government for oil concessions. First came the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, then an Italian company, then the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and others. In 1925 the Albanian Parliament ratified six concessions, on substantially identical terms. The first concession, dated February 18, 1925, granted the Anglo-Persian Oil Company the right to make geological studies throughout the entire country and select for development 123,000 acres which might be within four different zones. A maximum period of three years was granted to the company to complete its studies. In these three years the company was obligated to sink seven wells, three of which must be of a depth of at least 1,000 meters. The company has the right to exploit the output of gasoline on its 123,000 acres until December, 1985. It must form a company with a capital of at least

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£500,000, pay a royalty of 13½ per cent on all raw petroleum produced, and a tax of 1½ francs for each hectar developed in the first five years. A production of 56,000 barrels per year is to be aimed at. The company has the right to transport machinery and material free of charge throughout Albania, and to export without duty raw petroleum, asphalt, and petroleum derivatives. The company must deliver to the Albanian Government whatever quantities of petroleum and derivatives are produced—up to 20 per cent of the net production—at 10 per cent below the market price. American, French, and Italian companies have similar concessions in other parts of Albania.

With a coastline of 200 miles, Albania has four ports: Durazzo, Valona, St. Giovanne di Medua, and Santi Quaranta. The first two are destined to assume international economic importance whenever they are linked with the rest of the Balkans by railways. These ports all need jetties, docks, and light-houses. When the Buna River is drained small ships will be able to go as far as Scutari. A concession for the development of the port of Durazzo has recently been granted, for 8,000,000 gold francs, to an Italian company.

There are no standard-gauge railroads in Albania. The lines at Decanuillé, built during the war by the Austrians, have been rendered unusable by the Italians. The most important project is for the construction of a link between Scutari with Pirzren, following the valley of the Drin. Pirzren is fifty kilometers from the Albanian frontier in Jugoslavia. A second line from Valona will follow the valley of the Devoli linking Koritza, Monastir, and Saloniki. The two lines, one 200 kilometers long, the other 260, will cost sixty to eighty million francs gold.

Half of Albania's imports are cloth and clothing. She also imports coffee, tea, sugar, candles, and spirits. Two-thirds of her imports come from Italy; Greece ranks second, Jugoslavia, England, and the United States follow. Half the exports go to Italy, but Greece and America are also important markets. Albania exports maize, beans, hemp, hay, barley, olives, lemons, oranges, cheese, milk, butter, eggs, dried herbs, tobacco, wool, fur, fish, horses, mules, and bituminous products. In 1925 its exports were valued at $3,112,503, its imports at $4,208,380—bad enough; but in 1926 exports fell to $2,309,649, while imports rose to $4,800,-121—much worse.

Internal commerce is all conducted in the towns and villages by small retail merchants and in the bazaars. Local manufacturing is relatively slight—a few oil refineries and flour mills. Cigarette factories, started with local capital, are growing in importance. A few skilled workers produce jewelry and filigree work in gold and silver. There is also home weaving and spinning.

A law of June 23, 1925, fixed as a monetary unit of Albania the gold franc. Gold pieces of 100, 20, and 10 francs, and silver pieces of 5, 2, and 1 francs are current. The Albanian National Bank, opened in September, 1925, has a nominal capital of 12,500,000 gold francs, and its charter permits it to engage in all branches of commercial banking; it acts as treasurer for the Albanian state, has power to issue money, and receives bids for public works and makes the contracts. The concession was accorded to a group of Italian banks; the presidency of the council of administration, the chief directorship and administrative positions are given to Italians. While the council is composed of two Albanians and two Italians, in case of a tie vote the Italian

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president casts the decisive vote. Italy now has 75 per cent instead of the original 54 per cent of its capital.

The Bank of Athens has two branches in Albania—one at Durazzo and the other at Koritza. A Jugoslav bank has an office at Scutari.

Following the creation of the Albanian Bank the Italian Government lent to Albania 50,000,000 gold francs, this loan to be used solely for public works and with the consent of Italy. In reality, however, Albania became indebted for 70,000,000 francs, the bankers' fees, taxes, etc., raising the total. Meanwhile Italy, upon various pretexts, has refused to pay the various instalments of the loan. Since 1925 Italy has paid on the loan 6,000,000 gold francs, in paper notes of the Bank of Albania; and the Albanian Government has been debited with 16,000,000 francs of interest! To be sure, Mussolini and Zogu have recently reached an agreement whereby the Italian lenders grant Albania a three years' moratorium on this interest, in return for which Albania agrees for five years to exempt all Italian ships—almost the only ones which touch at Albanian ports—from all forms of taxation. But the loan contract still includes a threat of seizing the Albanian customs if interest is not paid, and this still hangs over Albania like the sword of Damocles. The loan makes Albania an economic and financial serf to Italy, and doubtless will be the cause of trouble in the future.

The Albanian budget for 1926-1927 was 23,000,000 gold francs expended and 20,000,000 gold francs received, showing a deficit of 3,000,000 francs. The receipts for the preceding year were only 15,781,000 gold francs and they are now hardly likely to touch the budget figure of 20,000,000. The new budget calls, on paper, for receipts and expenses to balance at 29,000,000 gold francs.

To summarize, Albania is a naturally rich country, capable of great development, but she has suffered from political disturbances and complications. Her budget must be balanced, and some solution found for the 50-million-franc Italian loan. She needs foreign capital, and would prefer to have it from America, but the difficulties arising from her Italian neighbor hold her back.

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